

A N
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
SETTLEMENT AND POSSESSION
O F
B O M B A Y,
BY THE
ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY,
AND OF THE
RISE A N D P R O G R E S S
O F T H E
WAR WITH THE MAHRATTA NATION.

L O N D O N:



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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following narrative was not begun with a view to publication; it hath been continued to the beginning of the last year at the desire of some respectable persons. Mr. Orme's history, and that of the decline of the Mogul empire by Mr. Dow, together with the relations of the most credible travellers, have furnished some of the materials; the records of the India Company the remainder.— Truth and impartiality have been the writer's aim—the reader will judge whether he hath succeeded.

1462

E R R A T A.

- Page 9, 1. 13, *for even read ever.*
 30, 1, *for Cattack r. Cuttack.*
 43, 7, *for which r. this.*
 45, 24, *for Furrat r. Amrut.*
 55, 16, *for Peut r. Pont.*
 64, 20, *read Morabah, Butchabah, and Bobagee Naig,*
 76, *ult. for Uguie r. Uguien.*
 104, 17, *after ruined place a Comma.*
 122, 2, *for Mahi r. Mahé.*
 140, 17, *for , place full Stop and for that r. That.*
 142, 6, *for have r. had—l. 11, for is r. was.*
 149, 22, *r. their minister. Last word r. therefore.*
 158, *ult. r. Mangalore.*
 228, 6, *dele to.*
 267, 9, *r. of which.*
 277, 20, *for Carnac r. Camac.*
 294, 8, *r. he was.*
 308, 5, *for Myhic r. Myhie.*
 310, 9, *after property place a Comma.*
 319, 12, *after Owde place a Comma.*
 335, 15, *for had r. hath.*

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
S E T T L E M E N T A N D P O S S E S S I O N
O F
B O M B A Y, &c.

THE island of Bombay is the antient property of the English East India Company; it hath hitherto been, of all her settlements, the most conducive to the greatness of the nation in Asia; yet, through the splendor of atchievement, great acquisition of territory, and immense harvests of wealth in Bengal and the Coast of Coromandel, it hath been in some measure overlooked, and, as if in a corner of the world, unnoticed.

It receives great importance as well from its situation, so advantageous not only in regard to external trade and the internal in
A the

the neighbouring provinces, as from the docks which are the only ones the Company have in India, and without which therefore there can be no maritime power in those regions. Hitherto the expence of maintaining hath not been defrayed by the produce; but the present situation of affairs in the neighbouring provinces, well improved, may place things on a different foot, and that expence not only be cleared, but a considerable revenue yielded, and a great influence in the western part of Indostan obtained. Some account therefore of this settlement, and of the events which have offered this occasion of so favourable a change, may be useful at this time.

In the midway between Goa and Surat on the Malabar Coast, the land from Bassein to Choul bends into a deep bay, in which lie the islands of Salcet, Bombay, Caranjah, Hog Island, Elephanta, and Canary. Salcet is the most northern, separated from the continent by so small a channel that it is called a river: on the East the distance is greater, but the channel is fordable. It is about twenty miles long and as many broad. Its waters are wholesome; its soil fruitful, naturally abundant, and capable of great improvement;

provement; the produce is mostly rice; it was formerly the granary of Goa. Half a mile to the South of this lies the island of Bombay, about eight miles long and twenty in circumference. Its distance from the continent is about eight miles, and its situation forms the harbour. It is well peopled, notwithstanding the water is bad. Carajah produces rice to the value of 60,000 roupies a year; Elephanta, of about 8,000; the others are little better than rocks.

In the year 1661, the Portugueze being then masters of that bay and those islands, they were given to Charles the Second as part of his Queen's dowry. But the people settled there did not easily yield possession; for, when a fleet of five ships, with five hundred land forces, was sent by the King of England, with the proper muniments from the court of Lisbon, entrance was refused. This expedition was commanded by Lord Malborough, who, on this refusal, carried the fleet to Swally, which lies to the North of Surat: the jealousy of the inhabitants obliged them to retire; the only place open to them was

* A roupie is worth, when remitted to England, from 2 s. to 2 s. 3 d.

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Angediva, an uninhabited island to the southward of Goa. Lord Mallborough left them there, and returned singly to Bombay, where, after much altercation, he prevailed to be admitted, first to the town, and afterwards to the possession of the whole island and the bay. But during his absence the unhealthiness of the climate, seconded by intemperance, had made havock among the unfortunate persons who had been carried to Angediva; three hundred of them had perished; the few who remained were admitted in the year 1664. Their first care was to make the island defendable. The Portugueze corrupted by ease and luxury had sunk in indolence, and were regardless of every thing, but what contributed to their pleasure: gardens adorned their possessions, but fortifications were totally neglected. Mr. Cook, who commanded that diminished force, was the first governor; he was immediately under the crown; but this government was not of long continuance: for the King finding no advantage to himself from that possession, but on the contrary being put to great expence in sending out ships, wished to be rid of it. The officers and men sent in those ships drove a private trade, which impaired that

that of the Company; and their licentiousness often engaged them in hostilities with the natives, for which the Company was answerable to the powers of that country. These real evils, and the advantage to be reaped from the possession of that island and bay, made the Company desire it; they therefore requested, and the King readily granted them: from that time they have had the absolute dominion.

The island was at first governed by deputies from the English factory at Surat. Dissention soon arose between the civil and military power, and grew to such a height, that in the year 1671 all was confusion. To put an end to this, and to fortify the island against attempts, which he foresaw a probability of, from the Dutch, then at war with England, Mr. Aungier, president of the factory of Surat, being also disgusted by the arrogance of the Mogul governor of that town, changed his residence and established himself at Bombay, where his prudence quashed the dissensions, his good management advanced the Company's interest, and his activity secured the island: insomuch, that in the spring of

6 A N A C C O U N T

1672, the Dutch attempting a surprize, found the fort so well guarded, and every thing in so good a condition, that they immediately gave over the enterprize.

From that period, each day shewing the great importance of this settlement, the residence of the governor was fixed there, and the several factories on the Coast of Malabar, and in the Persian Gulph, became dependent on that presidency,

Notwithstanding the natural inconveniences of this island in the want of springs and streams of fresh water, and the poorness of its natural produce, from the time of the possession of the English, its populousness became considerable. Many were invited by the freedom granted to all religions, and the mildness of the government; (that of the English, even when pushed to what would seem tyranny at home, appearing gentle to those who had felt Mahometan insolence and Portuguese bigotry) insomuch, that from ten thousand souls, the utmost of its inhabitants when in possession of these, they were in the year 1764 augmented to sixty thousand.

The

The access to the harbour and its safety in all seasons, with its vicinity to the country inhabited by the Maharattas, and the conveniency of a pass over the Gaut * Mountains, through which the inland parts may be supplied with our merchandize, are great advantages, the sale of woollen and other English goods there, amounting annually to fourteen lacks of roupies †. The convenience of the harbour hath produced a trade of Indian commodities with that country, almost exclusive; as also a very considerable one in the cotton, with which Bengal is supplied, whereby the customs bring the Company an annual profit of three lacks and a half ‡. The proximity of Surat gives an influence in that government, which, if rightly exerted, may prove of immense benefit; as Surat is, next to Bombay, the great mart for our staple commodities. Through these advantages the trade may fall almost totally into the hands of the English.

What is yet of greater consequence, not only to the Company but the nation, is the

* Gaut or Gatte means passage.

† 140,000 l. at 2 s. per roupie.

‡ 35,000 l. at 2 s. the common exchange is 2 s. 3 d.

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maritime power which arises from this possession. Docks are constructed there sufficient not only for repairing, but building of ships. To these it is easy to bring excellent timber * from the continent, particularly from Bassein; a number of artificers are settled there, so that every repair and building may be done as perfectly as in England. This convenience is not to be found in any other part of that, or the Coromandel Coast, nor even in Bengal; and to this resource may in a great measure be attributed the success of England in that region during the last war. But the great expence attending this settlement hath hitherto counterbalanced these advantages; the profits arising from the territory, and the great trade carried on, not being equal to the amount of that expence. This hath made some further advantage in these parts necessary, and this necessity hath been most strongly felt since the year 1768, when there were great additions made to the fortifications, and the military establishment was augmented; a wise measure! so necessary that it is to be

* The Teke tree, called by Fryer the Indian oak, grows in all those parts. It is better from its durability in water than our oak. Ships built of that wood, and used in the country trade, last twenty or thirty years, and longer.

wondered that no inconvenience arose during the long time it remained neglected.

By the great sums then expended, and the lasting increase of that establishment, the defect before-mentioned became grievous, and mostly when it was necessary to furnish investments for Europe and China. The only remedy was the acquisition of a territory sufficient by its revenues to defray the expence of the establishment. The island of Salcet, Basslein, and its territory, immediately presented themselves as the proper objects for this purpose, when even an opportunity should offer to acquire them from the Maharrattas who were then the possessors of them. The situation and nature of Salcet have been already described ; its produce is such that it almost suffices for the supply of Bombay, which, with the aid of Caranjah and Basslein may, however numerous its people, be secure of provision of every kind. Basslein is necessary to the provision of timber wanted for the Company's docks, which, should it fall in the hands of an enemy, or a quarrel arise with its possessors, might become useless for want of materials. The importance of those objects, so much greater than that of the supply

supply of expence, hath so strongly struck the Directors, that they have repeatedly and urgently enjoined that presidency to seize every opportunity of acquiring these possessions, and to that principally to direct their views and operations: but as the possessors are equally sensible of those advantages, and consequently of the value of their possession, there was little prospect of success, when, in the year 1773, the disorders which disturbed the government of the Maharatta state afforded the occasion so much wished. That these events may be understood, it is necessary to give some account of the people among whom they happened: a people who have hitherto had no regular place in history; mentioned only cursorily as freebooters or barbarians, although settled in a regular government, and the most considerable nation in India; whether we regard the extent of their territory, their situation, or their arms.

The rapidity of success which so wonderfully extended the empire of the Mahometans, attended those who invaded India. The princes of that immense region were in general overwhelmed: divided among themselves they assisted their conquerors; yet
many

many of them, whilst they yielded, preserved their dominions by paying a tribute, and acknowledging the sovereignty of the victors; and others refusing this, by arms kept up their independence. They, whose possessions lay in the low, plain, and fertile part of the country, being less able to resist, were in the first class; but they who dwelt among the mountains, hardy and used to arms, and protected by the roughness of their situation, were not to be easily subdued. They not only resisted, but often baffled the power of the mightiest emperors: even Aurengzebe found it necessary to prefer art to force; and, by being satisfied with small acknowledgments, prevailed by cunning where his arms must have failed. The kingdom of Visiapour was thus at last subdued by him; and the king brought to his court, remained there maintained by a pension as one of his Omrahs; but a part of that kingdom inhabited by a hardy race, who before that revolution had thrown off the subjection to the king, remained unconquered; and continued not only free from the yoke of the Moguls, but at last saw that empire tributary to them.

These

These tribes extended from the territory of Surat to that of Goa along the sea coast, and backward over the mountains to the city of Vifiapour, and are at this day known by the name of Maharattas. The history of the Hindoos gives them great antiquity, even to the most remote times *. They have preserved their original manners and religion; scrupulous observers of that of Bramah, they never feed on any thing which hath had animal life; temperate, sober, indefatigable; always in arms; inured to all hardships, capable of resisting heat and climate. A numerous cavalry mounted on horses as hardy in their nature as their riders, is the strength of their army: their marches are incredibly long and rapid: they avoid general engagements; retreating with a celerity as sudden as that with which they invaded, they mark the country they leave with the misery of plunder and devastation; they return as soon as the army raised by the prince, whose territory they invade, hath been disbanded. Thus all the horrors of this predatory war are renewed, to the total destruction of the wretched inhabitants. Hence the difficulty of reaching

* Orme. Dow.

them, and the detriment arising from these inroads induce the princes of the invaded countries to purchase their retreat, either by a large contribution, or stipulating to pay an annual tribute. Their arms have extended this kind of conquest even to the gates of Dehli. Expences in luxury are unknown to them; and continually collecting from the countries they pass over, immense treasures are brought to remain in theirs; which, whilst the provinces within their reach have been ravaged and exhausted, have continued in undisturbed tranquillity. The policy of the original constitution of their government forbad the extension of their territorial dominions. This law, notwithstanding the success attending their arms, and the incitements of ambition common to conquerors, continued long inviolate, their views leading them no further than the imposition of a tribute they called Chout, one fourth of the estimated clear revenue of the countries they subdued: this, in a course of time, became general through the greatest part of India. Their resources of wealth were simple, and unembarrassed by territorial arrangements; their armies numerous in proportion to their immense revenues, and their country easy of defence.

defence. But by degrees the ambitious and interested views of powerful individuals brought them to depart from this policy, and to extend their territorial possessions. From that time their government no longer retained a consistent system of measures, but became a disjointed union of different interests and dependencies, where each chief, accommodating the interests of the state to what suited his, acted solely for his own purpose.

The revolution by which these tribes became an independent nation *, was owing to a bold Raypout of the kingdom of Vifiapour, named Seva or Sava †, who had long dwelt in the mountains, where he was at the head of a bold set of adventurers. This man was descended from an ancient line of Rajas, of the cast of the Bouncelos, a warlike and active race. His grandfather, Vanga Gi, was high in office under Nizam Shaw the last prince of Guzurat; and by him was Seva's father, Shaw Gi Raja, made commander of Jenneah Gur, where Seva was born, as was also a second son called Samba; by another

* Fryer.

† He is commonly called Seva Gi. This additional syllable denotes some rank or honour; as chief.

wife he had a third son named Ekou. When Nizam Shaw was subdued by Aurengzebe, Shaw Gi, and his two younger sons, entered into the service of the king of Visiapour, where they were raised to great employments; the father to the command of the king's guard, Samba to a jaguier of ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, with thirty lacks of roupies a year, and Ekou to one of two thousand horse and eight thousand foot, with ten lacks of roupies a year. Seva would not submit to serve any prince, but, gathering a party, maintained himself and them by inroads upon the plain country; sometimes against the subjects of the Mogul, at others against those of Visiapour. Nor could he ever be brought by the instances of his father and his brothers to change this course of life, which disobedience occasioned so heavy a resentment from his father, that he excluded him from his succession. The king of Visiapour, upon some suspicions of machinations against him, put to death Shaw Gi Rajah: revenge of this murder furnished Seva an excuse for pushing on his devastations. The king sent a strong army against him, under the command of Abdul Cawn: Seva, finding it much superior

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to any he could raise, whilst it was yet at a great distance, pretended that he was desirous of yielding obedience, and requested his advancing with a small party to a choultry which stood between the two armies, that he might there kiss his feet, and pray him to solicit his pardon from the king. Abdul too easily believed him, and advancing with his son, and an inconsiderable retinue, came to the place appointed. Seva waited there for him, accompanied by few; but he had placed a strong party in ambush, who lay totally concealed. He, seemingly unarmed, advancing prostrated himself at Abdul's feet, and with tears requested his intercession with the king. As they entered the choultry Seva said, "You, my lord, may execute your pleasure on me, and ease me of my life." Upon which Abdul, that his fears might vanish, and to shew him an entire confidence, gave his sword and poynard to his page. They then begun their conference, when Seva drew a stiletto from his sleeve, and stabbed him to the heart. Abdul the son flew on Seva and wounded him; but the men in ambush rushed into the choultry at that moment, a scuffle ensued, in which, fortunately Abdul escaped; and by putting
on

On a mean dress; and, flying through unfrequented ways, reached his camp; where the tragical end of their general was no sooner known, than all the troops dispersed.

Seva, that he might not lose the fruit of his crime, immediately marched to Panala; a wealthy and strong city, hoping to surprise it; but the citizens were on their guard. He, therefore fearing that a siege would be long, and give time for another army to be sent against him, which in the plain and open country he could not cope with, endeavoured a stratagem. Seven hundred of his followers were employed for this purpose. To many of their officers he publicly gave ill-usage; they loudly complained; and, seeming from resentment his bitter enemies, departed to the town, and offered their service against him. They were well received; and though at first the inhabitants used caution, yet in a very short time their indolence and luxury drawing them to confidence in these new friends, they left the guard of the walls mostly to them: as they had sought pleasure more than security, the ramparts and outworks were pleasing walks shadowed with trees; under the

cover of these a detachment of Seva's army approached undiscovered, and were the succeeding night admitted by their friends. The inhabitants were soon overpowered, and at Seva's mercy, who considered them as his subjects, and made their city his retreat; adding to the fortifications, and destroying the trees which had rendered the former useless: from this place he over-ran the adjacent country. The king soon sent a fresh force against him, under the command of Abdul; this consisted of the troops lately dispersed, and a body of cavalry under Rustan Gemma, who had a jaguire of thirty lacks of roupies a year, for which he maintained ten thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; but Seva found means to gain him. Abdul advanced gallantly, and with a small band of chosen friends rushed to that part where Seva was, calling him aloud to an encounter; but Seva, who depended upon more than valour, despised the challenge, answering, "The rash youth may fall by other hands." In the mean time Rustan's horse disbanded, and he, with a small party, went over to Seva: Abdul with his few brave friends broke through and reached Visiapour, his whole army dispersing, left Seva master of the field. Rustan advised

advised Seva to take advantage of the present consternation, and march directly to Visiapour; he followed his counsel, and his boldness would have succeeded, had not Siddy Jore another jaghedar advanced to the relief of the city, with a body so considerable, his own troops being increased by the re-assembly of the dispersed army, that Seva could not stand before it, but was obliged to retreat to Panala. Siddy encamped near the town; Seva, whose stratagems never failed him, contrived to escape, and proceeded to Rajapour, the chief city and fortress of Siddy, where he produced a forged phirmaund*, sealed with Siddy's seal, whereby it was signified, that having exchanged this fortress for Panala, the commander was ordered to deliver it up to Seva. Siddy, not able to do any thing against Panala, returned to Visiapour. The king suspected him of treachery, yet received him with a fair countenance, and made him the usual presents upon his dismissal; but, soon after changing his mind, gave orders to Bullul Cawn, whom he made commander in chief, to overtake and destroy him. Siddy, when Bullul reached him, encountered and defeated him. The king then marched

* A grant.

in person against him, having by secret means gained several of Siddy's army, who, not mistrusting the treason, joined battle, in which, being forsaken, he was slain. This treatment of Siddy Jore incited Siddy Masfure, another potent jaghedar, to vengeance; and thus civil discord completed the misery of this kingdom. In the mean time Seva, improving the opportunity, secured several small places towards the sea coast. In the midst of this confusion the king died without issue; upon his death his widow ascended the throne; and, by the weakness of her government, furnished Seva further occasion of gratifying his revenge, and indulging his ambition. The queen had, during the life of her husband, conceived a parental fondness for a youth named Sikendar, whom she had educated in the doctrine of Ali, the sect of Mahometans which prevailed in Persia. She now adopted him, and gave him the title of king: this could not fail of being odious to a people of all others the most scrupulously attached to their religion. Seva was highly esteemed for his valour, and either from principle or political views, a strict professor of the Gentoo religion, had acquired a great interest among the Bramins. Improving these advantages, he extended his influence

influence among the Raypouts. The scruples of many, and the discontents of more, increased his company of adventurers to an army, at the head of which he unexpectedly appeared. The queen was totally unprepared. Each advantage improving his force, he reduced into his possession the fortresses of Rajapur, Rasejeir, and a great part of the Malabar Coast; in Rasejeir he was said to have found great treasures. His success was such, that the queen, in the year 1674, before her adopted son Sikendar could attain his majority, was obliged to enter into a treaty with him. By the peace which followed, he obtained the independent dominion of the territory and forts which he had conquered.

Unfortunately for the queen and Sikendar this diminution was followed by a worse. Pammaich, another of the Raypouts tributary to her, trusting to the inaccessible mountains which surrounded his country, revolted, and was successful; his fastnesses for a long time protecting him.

Her principal forces being employed in the reduction of this rebel, Aurengzebe seized

this opportunity, and marching to the city of Vifiapour, conquered that and the fortress after a three years resistance; the unhappy Sikendar was taken prisoner. Aurengzebe carried him to his court, where he resided as one of his omrahs, enjoying a pension of a million of roupies. This revolution happened in the year 1685.

From the time Seva found himself established by this peace, he assumed the title of Raja Seva Gi, and a regal state, had a pompous coronation, and applied himself closely to make his conquest a valuable dominion: he fortified the principal passes in the mountains, and placed therein faithful lieutenants and good garrisons. His conquests extended to the territory of Surat northward, and southward to that of Goa: the coast between these two places became a part of his possession. This enabled him not only to harass the country round him by continual incursions, but also to stop all commerce, both of the Portugueze and the subjects of the emperor, by his depredations, insomuch that each of these powers were happy to receive his terms. The possession of so considerable a tract of sea coast inspired him with the idea
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of acquiring a maritime power; his late success in his depredations gave probability to the scheme; and his activity in the pursuit of it was such, that in a short time his force was sufficient, not only to resist, but even to beat a fleet the Mogul emperor had equipped against him. Thus both at sea and land was his dominion established.

In the year 1674, the presidency of Bombay sent an embassy to him to treat concerning a trade to be carried on through his country; in which negotiation they asked the same privileges they enjoyed in Persia and Indostan. This was a favourable time for them, as their gallant behaviour, in repulsing an attack he had made upon Surat, had impressed him with an idea of their valour: he therefore willingly granted them leave to come to Raree, a strong hold in the Gatte *, where he then resided. They proceeded from Upper Choul, a considerable sea-port in his possession, and, after many difficulties, came the fourth day to Punchara, a town at the foot of the mountain on which Raree stands; there they pitched their tents, and waited for

* Gatte signifies a pass.

his return from a pilgrimage he made to a famous pagoda called Purtabgur, preparatory to his coronation, which they were spectators of, and of his fourth marriage. These were to him such serious matters, that, till all the ceremonies of fasting and purification were over (during which he and his family were shut up with the bramins) the ambassadors could not treat of business with him personally, but were referred to Moro Pundit his Pashwa, or chancellor, who was to report to him the demands they made: their presents were accepted, and their reception was courteous. Sava Gi owed his success in a great measure to the influence of the bramins; an incident, trifling in itself, shews his attention to keep well with their tribe, during this time of his recess he was weighed in gold, and 16,000 pagodas found to be his weight, were, with 100,000 more, distributed among the bramins on the day of his coronation *.

Except

* The great influence of the bramins over the people gave infinite advantage to those whose cause they espoused. They were revered by the highest. In the history of Ferushta, translated by Dow, page 4. vol. I. anno 977. "It was then customary among the Rajas, in affairs of moment, to assemble the Double Council, which consisted of an equal number of the most respectable bramins

Except making the English coin current in his dominions, and restoring wrecks of ships perished on his coasts, the whole that was demanded was granted, with this compliment, that with great satisfaction he embraced our friendship, promising to himself and his country much happiness by our settlement and trade.

Seva's success gained him not only territory but dependents. Many of the Rayputs, who were tributaries to the Mogul and king of Visiapour, wearied by the state of war in which they were obliged to live, and seeing an advantage in being under his protection, as they would for a smaller tribute paid to him, not only save their land from devastation, but share the benefit of his manner of maintaining himself (the spoils of the neighbouring countries) became his jaghedars or feudatories; paying him an annual sum, and stipulating to furnish a certain number of troops whenever occasion re-

“ mins, who sat on the right of the throne, and of the
“ nobles, Kettrees, who sat on the left;” but they seem only to be advisers; for there the Raja, to his ruin, against the unanimous opinion of such a council, continued a war against the emperor of Ghizni.

quired :

quired : and thus was formed that federal union which constitutes the Maharatta state. Each of these jaghedars maintains a certain number of troops, with which, when they are not engaged in the common cause, they make incursions in the neighbouring provinces ; Sometimes settling in those parts which lie most conveniently for their purpose ; at others, being satisfied with the chout or tribute. As the princes from whom this tribute is exacted are impatient of this yoke, to which they yield only through necessity, the Mahometans, who look on themselves as the conquerors of India, feeling deeply the indignity of submitting to persons whom they look on merely as freebooters, whenever they find an opportunity of evading these payments, either from any addition to their strength, or embarrassments among the Maharattas, withhold them, which the others, as soon as they find it feasible, fail not to demand with an armed force ; and thus their troops are kept up, and their inclination to plunder gratified.

The dissensions and war among the successors of Aurengzebe left those of Seva at liberty to strengthen and establish themselves :
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the luxury of the prince, and infidelity of the chief omrahs, dissolved the government of the Mogul empire. In the interval of time passed from the year 1707 *, in which Aurengzebe died, to the year 1718, when Mahommed Shaw ascended the throne, four princes reigned, three of whom were exalted, and then were deprived of life by the faction of the Seids, Abdalla Cawn, and Hassen Cawn. Mahommed, soon after his accession, rid himself of these tyrants, and then sunk in indolence and the pleasures of his haram; the omrahs were at liberty to form and execute schemes of independence in their governments. The most considerable among these, for extent of province and number of troops, were the Nizam ul Mulluck who commanded in the Decan, and Aliverdy Cawn who commanded in Bengal. This omrah by his arms subdued the Rajas who were his neighbours, but tamely permitted the Maharattas to range through the interior parts of the empire. These invasions were so successful in the kingdom of Malava and the neighbouring provinces, that Mahommed, to purchase their retreat, consented to pay them

* Dow's History of the Decline of the Mogul Empire, the

the chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces. Thus did the successor of Tamerlane, and great-grandson of Aurengzebe, become their tributary.

The whole province of Guzurat, and country as far as the Indus, was in this manner subjected to them, and a part of it in the actual possession of some of their chiefs or jaghedars.

The invasion of the Persian Nadir, through the treachery of the Nizam, having exhausted the provinces, occasioned the tribute to run in arrear; this furnished the pretence, as the weakness of the empire did the opportunity, of another invasion. An army of eighty thousand horse under the command of Rago Gi, in 1740, invaded the Carnatic; having forced the passes of the mountains, they surprised and defeated the army of Doast Aly the nabob of the province, who with his son fell in the action. Sipander the son, and Chunda a Saib, the son-in-law of Doast Ali, were at variance, and, instead of uniting to repel this invasion, shut themselves up, the first in Vellour, the latter in Trichinopoli. Thus left masters of the province they ravaged it,

it, and raised heavy contributions. Sipander set on foot a negotiation, which ended in a stipulation to pay them a hundred lacks of roupies, and put them in possession of the territory of Tritchinopoly. Sipander was acknowledged Nabob. They then retired; but six months after returned to take possession of the land yielded to them. Chunda Saib sustained a three months siege in Tritchinopoly, and then was obliged to surrender at discretion. Madhar Row, who commanded there in the year 1741, sold it for a sum of money to Abdulla Cawn, one of the Nizam generals,

In this year they demanded the chout from the emperor, who, unable to pay it, gave them a commission to gather it in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where Aliverdi had made himself independent. The Suu Raja sent an army of 50,000 horse from Sattarah, his capital, to invade Bengal, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit; they ravaged all the districts west of the Ganges. Aliverdi resisted them by arms and intrigue: he found means to have their leader assassinated; the army retreated: but the Raja sent two other armies, one by the way of Bahar, commanded by Balla Row, and
another

another by Cattack, under the command of Rago Gi. Aliverdi contrived to sow dissension between these chiefs, and treated separately with Balla Row, who having received two years chout evacuated the province. Rago Gi retreated to Cattack, whence with flying parties he harrassed the provinces : in some time Aliverdi prevailed upon him to return likewise.

In the year 1750 they retreated from the southern provinces of the empire, in pursuance of an alliance with Ahmed the son of Mohammed, who was then defending himself against the Patans. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the chout should be regularly paid. The confusion which reigned in Dehli prevented this, and furnished an occasion of continual incursions, which the wars, harrassing the southern provinces, made ever successful. This prosperous state continued till their distractions at home engaged their whole attention.

Seya Gi, in modelling his rising empire, followed the genius of the Gentoo system : among them, the Raja has the supreme authority, is master of peace and war, and absolutely

solutely commands the armies ; but, by usage coeval with their law, is bound, from the most learned among the bramins, to form a council, which assists him in the administration of justice, both in regard to punishments and the decision of property : their authority is similar to that which Cæsar attributes to the Druids in Britain. Thus the human law, being supported by the divine, must have found perfect obedience in a nation so bigotted to the tenets of their religion ; the first of which is, that the bramins are of a race superior to other mortals, who may think it a happiness, when a cast created particularly for the exercise of the priesthood, in reading, teaching, and performing the ceremonies of religion, will condescend to exercise functions inferior to these, whilst none of the other casts dare look up to theirs. Even that of the Raypouts, of which is the Raja, whose particular distinction is the profession of arms, to protect the subjects by their valour, and who therefore naturally have command, is inferior to that of the bramins, who are by the people more respected than the prince.

Besides this spirit of the Gentoo system, Seva was attached to the bramins by policy ; to them he owed his first success, and from their influence he hoped yet greater advantages. Of his bounty and munificence, as well as deference to them, instances have been related on occasion of his coronation and marriage ; whilst therefore he retained the ensigns and reality of supreme dignity, the power of peace and war, the command of armies, the disposal of employments, governments, and jaguiers, and the management of the public treasure absolutely to himself, he instituted a council of eight persons chosen among the bramins to assist him in the administration of the civil government. They exercised the principal offices of the state under him, they held these offices only during his pleasure, in process of time they perpetuated them in that cast. Next in dignity to the Raja was the Purtenary, or delegate, whose fiat was previously necessary to all acts of state : but the officer really most powerful was the Paishwa, or chancellor * ; in him was the executive power of administration really lodged ; and as the name imports,

* Fryer.

he presided over the council, and was the reigning, indeed sole, minister of the Raja. The spirit and activity of Seva Gi was such, that his ministers could assume little or no power: but as by him the independence of his tribe was settled, and the jaghedars fixed in their obedience and payment of their rent, his successors, like other Indian princes, yielding to the softness of the climate, and the allurements of luxury, to enjoy their pleasure left the administration to their minister. Similar causes produce like effects though in different climates; what happened in the first line of the French monarchy happened here; from the indolence and inactivity of the prince, the abilities and real service of the chief minister, the necessity to which the prince was reduced of being totally in his hands, the influence of the persons whom the minister had won over to second him, who in each state were rulers of the people's consciences, the power by degrees passed from the hand of the prince to that of the minister. The Mayor of the Palace, and the Paishwa, to the administration of government joined command of armies; success against foreign enemies confirmed them in that command; and the of-

office fixed at first in their person for life only, in time became hereditary in their family, whilst the prince became a mere cypher; and, satisfied with outward ensigns of royalty, led a life dependent on the will of him who had thus usurped his authority. In this state the Paishwa was assisted by the rest of the council, who saw by this change the government fixed in the bramin cast; the office became hereditary, even when the Paishwa left an infant son, during whose minority the administration was vested in a regent and the rest of the council, and exercised in the name of the infant. The completion of this change was owing to the Raja Sahoo; in the beginning of whose reign a bramin called Wih-wana Ballagee, through his great abilities, seconded by dexterity, had so far gained his prince's favour and confidence, that he rose to be of the Council of Eight, and soon to the office of Paishwa. The Raja, finding every day more ease from his management, determined formally to invest him with all his authority and power, and even some of the ensigns of royalty. From that time all orders formerly given in the name of the Raja issued in that of the Paishwa solely, whom Sahoo styled Pundit Praden, chief or elect

elect of the Pundits *. The only reserve of this thoughtless prince was the revenue of a large district, from whose produce he maintained a considerable body of troops, who were his body guard, and solely under his command. From that time, shut up in Sattarah, and abandoned totally to his pleasures, he appeared no more to his people, who, through the influence of the bramin cast, were accustomed in a short time to this alteration, which in reality had no bad effects to them. The bramins readily assisted in a measure which fixed the government in their cast, and gave a chance to each of their families of seeing the supreme power fixed in it.

This reserve and guard makes it probable that by this cession Sahoo did not mean to divest himself totally; his intention must have been only the attainment of perfectly undisturbed tranquillity in the enjoyment of his pleasures; but his absence from business and the view of his people gave his substitute the opportunity of fully establishing his power and influence, insomuch that the office became not only permanent in himself, but

* Learned Bramins.

hereditary in his family : it is now an established rule, the successor goes to Sattarah, where the Raja resides, and is invested in his office by the delivery of the sirpaw *. Such a revolution must seem strange, but it must be considered that the bramins who composed the council had, as most orders of men, the interest of their cast principally in view : by this abdication they saw the government fixed in it, and each might hope that his own family would some time or other reap the benefit of it : and their influence over the people being so great, they easily brought them to submit to any government they approved.

Wish-ana made use of his power in creating dependents, and by degrees so totally obscured the Rajaship, that the prince became a mere image or representative of royalty. As Sahoo must have been very weak as well as indolent and luxurious, it is not surprizing that, like the French monarchs, he was content with enjoying his pleasures within his palace, and in time sunk into a prisoner ; probably his mind as well as his

* The sirpaw is a rich garment with which the person who receives a great employment is invested in the presence of the prince, or of the minister who carries it, if the favoured person is then absent from court.

body enervated through sensual enjoyments, willingly acquiesced in this inglorious torpid state. His seclusion from the world totally established the empire of the Paishwa in the mind of his people, his person and his government were forgotten. Upon the death of Sahoo, he leaving no children, Raja Ram, who was only an adopted son, probably chosen by Wish-ana to serve his purpose, was permitted to succeed to this state of captive royalty, and hath ever since acquiesced, and peacefully obeyed the dictates of the Paishwa or bramin council. The genius and circumstances of the respective successors of Sahoo and Wish-ana have so totally fixed the government in the Paishwa, that every transaction with foreign powers is merely between that officer and them, without any regard to the Raja.

Wish-ana's enterprising spirit did not long suffer him to rest content with the incursions usually made by the Maharattas; he sought to regain what the valour of the Portuguese, on their first invasion of India, had wrested from the inhabitants of that part of the Malabar Coast which lies between Surat and Goa: in a short time he became master of

the principal part of the coast, and by his own brother Oppah conquered Bassein and Salcet. These successes encouraged him to attempt becoming a maritime power, and turned his thoughts to the establishment of a marine.

The neighbourhood of this enterprising people made it necessary for the presidency of Bombay to endeavour, by some treaty or agreement, to prevent any disputes which might arise between them, and for that purpose one of their body was deputed to negotiate, who found the state in the situation above described, and therefore treated with the Paishwa, by the intervention of Oppah, with whom sundry articles were settled.

Wish-ana was peaceably succeeded by his son Ballagee, more generally known by the name of Nanah; during his administration the government was carried on with vigour; the military prowess of the Maharattas established a tribute, which, under the appellation of Chout, was exacted from all the countries south of their dominion; the quarrels among the different princes calling them at some times to the aid of one; at others, the

the non-payment of the Chout gave them a pretence of an irruption to gather the arrears; and thus continually employed abroad, and at home governing with firmness and justice, Nanah reigned without disturbance, and at his death in 1761, the power and post was transmitted, as of course, to his son Madharow, though he was then but fourteen years old. Ragonath * Row, the brother of the deceased Paishwa, carried on the government in the name of his pupil, and by his prudence conducted it so as to affirm the power of the Paishwa. The neighbouring princes, particularly the subah of the Decan, tempted by the youth of Madharow, invaded the territory of the Maharattas, but by Ragonath's activity and valour he was soon repulsed. His care extended to every part of administration; valour and conduct repelled foreign enemies; but internal evils were more difficult to be removed.

Wish-ana, on the first establishment of his power, as he was favoured by the rest of the council, to give it stability, found it neces-

* Called also, and more generally by the English, Ragobah.

fary, not only to employ them in the civil department, but to give them all the advantage of emolument that could arise from their offices; by this they were enabled to acquire great riches, and increase their interest, and that of the whole bramin cast: his successor continued the same manner; but probably Ragobah shewed some inclination to check this growth of power and wealth; for, during the minority of Mhadarow, they formed an intrigue, the effects of which have brought the Maharatta nation to such a state, that had any of the neighbouring powers been in a condition to take advantage of it, the whole must have been lost. The bramins feared not only the diminution of power, and of the means of increasing their riches, but the loss of those riches, always an object of jealousy to the princes of that country. They saw the steady administration of the regent extended to every part of the nation, that his view was to affirm the power of the Paishwa, and make him independent of theirs; and from the talents of the young prince doubted not but, through his instructions, he would pursue the same plan, which must end in their ruin. It was necessary to prevent this, that Ragobah should be removed. To effect this

this would not have been easy, had not a favourable circumstance offered the opportunity.

Nana had left a widow, who possessed the art of intrigue : she was besides a consummate coquette ; and, since the death of her husband, had by her amours given great offence to Ragobah, who could not, without resentment, behold so shameful a course of life ; he reproached her for it ; this procured him her inveterate hatred. The ministers failed not to improve such an advantage, and prompt her to use her influence over her son to the destruction of Ragobah. This was successful : a coolness at first, was followed by an open breach, and total deprivation of power, and ended in Ragobah's confinement.

The success of this intrigue at first threw the whole power into the hands of the ministers ; their rapacity knew no bounds ; as they were the dispensers of favour, in a country where presents make the first claim, they could not fail amassing immense riches, and greatly extending their interest by the opportunity they had of making creatures, at the expence of the Paishwa's treasury. It happened

pened, that the northern jaghedars, seeing the weakness of government, with-held their tribute, and were in this followed by the Pundits ; they purchased, for a small part of what they used to pay, the protection of the ministers : so the treasury visibly diminished, while their stores increased. But this lasted not long.

As Madharow advanced to manhood, he shewed all the talents which form a great prince, and put in practice the instructions he had received from the regent. One of his first cares, upon his taking in hand the reins, was to destroy this iniquitous combination, by narrowing the power of the ministers, and restoring that firmness of government which had existed during the regency of his uncle ; who, notwithstanding the Paishwa's penetration, was still kept in his disgrace and confinement. The ability and activity of Madharow made him be respected at home and dreaded abroad, and would certainly have proved as advantageous to his nation as fatal to his neighbours, had his life been longer. A lingering disorder put an end to his designs in November 1772. He saw his end approach with firmness, yet with great anxiety at

at the situation in which he left his family. His brother and successor, Naron Row, was young and weak, confiding in those who flattered his passions and vanity, and totally under the influence of his mother. The wise administration of Ragobah recurred to him. The contrast between which, and that likely to be under those disadvantages, was striking. Sensible that the good he had begun could be continued by him only, he wished to throw the management of the state into his hand. He knew the hatred of his mother, and the designs of the ministers, the consequence of whose ambition might lose the Paishwahship to his family, if not extinguish the office : at the same time much was to be feared from the resentment of Ragobah ; some marks of which had appeared in his impatience at his confinement, projects formed for his escape, and measures taken to revive his interests among his friends ; yet he knew him to be of a high spirit, and naturally, not only bold and enterprising, but also generous ; and as he had no children, supposed he might look on Naron as his own son, and moved by the confidence reposed in him, act as his friend and parent ; he determined therefore to try that method ; and calling to him his brother, shewed him the dangers that surrounded him

from

from the ambition and avarice of the ministers, and the intriguing spirit, with the implacable temper of his mother: he then had Ragobah brought in, and after many kind expressions conjured him, forgetting the ill usage he had received, to protect his nephew, and aid him with his councils; at the same time recommending to the young man to be totally guided by him, and to guard against the influence of his mother, and the snares of the ministers: each promising what he requested, he joined their hands in token of mutual friendship and alliance. Soon after this he expired. The first acts of the young Paishwa, after the death of his brother, had the appearance of a determination to perform his promise. It was agreed that Ragobah should be naib, or deputy, and carry on the administration of government in the name of Naron. In pursuance of this, when the Raja invested him with the firpaw of Paishwa, he conferred the naibship on Ragobah. Thus things wore the face of harmony; but the different interests of the persons composing the cabinet, and the restless spirit of Gopicaboy *, who retained all her influence, soon destroyed it. The deceased Paishwa had

* The mother of Naron and widow of Nanah.

placed great confidence in the Duan, Saccaram Bapoo, and recommended him to that of his successor. But a young man named Nanah Furneze, who had attached himself to Gopicaboy, and whose age and dispositions nearly approached Naron's, insinuated himself in his favour, and formed the design of making it serve his ambition. His wealth, family interest, and connexions were considerable enough to create a strong party, which, with the addition of Gopicaboy, became an overmatch for Saccaram : but Ragobah was an unfurmountable check to their designs, and therefore it was absolutely determined to remove him from the person of Naron, and deprive him of his office. The same means which had effected this with Madharow were repeated ; and a particular incident gave them a handle for their insinuations.

Whether the weakness and debauchery of Naron had disgusted Ragobah, or whether he was swayed by other motives, he, some time after the death of his nephew, had adopted a youth named Furrat Row, who was nearly related to Moodagee Bouncelo, one of the most powerful and considerable of the Maharatta chiefs. This adoption, and the connexion

nexion consequent to it, were by Gopicaboy used as strong arguments that Ragobah designed to establish himself in the office of Paishwa, to the prejudice of Naron. She represented that he had acted contrary to the custom of the country, which approved not adoptions where there were nephews; that by this the succession to his wealth was taken from his family; and perhaps the high office of Paishwa might be so: that the connexion with so powerful a chief as Bouncelo could have no other view but establishing such an interest as might overbalance the Paishwa's power. By these insinuations, and the flattery of Nanah and his young companions, the dying request of the late Paishwa, and promise in consequence, were obliterated, and Ragobah was once more a prisoner; and, on the 11th of April 1773, closely confined, and deprived of the access of his friends.

Naron, thus freed from the controul of his uncle, gave a full range to his folly; his debauchery, pride, and arrogance knew no bounds. The confidence was given totally to Nanah and his adherents, and Saccaram the Duan not only was neglected, but insulted,

sulted, and even designs entertained of depriving him of the duanship. This Gopicaboy was labouring to effect, and her principles were so known, that it was not doubted but his life, if it seemed necessary, would be quickly sacrificed to her thirst of power and revenge. The apprehensions rising from this knowledge were soon encreased to certainty. By the means of Bouncelo, Sacaram received notice that a plot was formed to assassinate him and Ragobah; this, in a mind already inflamed, sunk deep, and was followed by a resolution to secure his own safety by any means. The most obvious was the death of Naron; this was instantly resolved: but it was necessary to go further: seizing the power into his hands and that of his friends was the most desirable, but whilst the office of Paishwa existed, or Ragobah lived, this was not easy. The extinguishment of the office might restore the Raja, and deprive them and their cast. The death of Ragobah would open the eyes of all, and represent their act, not as a measure of safety and public utility, but inordinate ambition. On the other hand, Ragobah, if released, might look on them as his friends, and preserve to them their wealth and power: this determined

determined them to release and reinstate Ragobah. This scheme was laid, and carried into execution by the art of Saccaram, who prevailed on Mahomet Efoof and Summer Sing to procure two Subadars to undertake the death of Naron : on the 18th of August 1773, they led their party, which consisted of five hundred men, to the Durbar, under pretence of being mustered ; the gates were forced, and the guards put to the sword. Naron, roused by the tumult, saw the fullness of his danger, and at the same time the impossibility of escaping. The prison, where Ragobah was confined, seemed the only refuge, thither he fled, and throwing himself at his uncle's feet, begged his protection ; and assuring him nothing more than imprisonment had ever been designed against him, besought him to assume the government, and only save his life. Before any thing could be answered, the party broke in, and found him in that posture. Ragobah had time only to take him in his arms, which act would have saved him ; but a slave, whom Naron had lately caused to be severely whipped, and who had led the party to this apartment, urged them on ; their weapons were instantly directed to the person of Ragobah, who,

who, to save himself, was obliged to abandon the wretched youth to their swords.

Thus did a moment determine the fate of these two princes. The one, who languished in prison when he expected death, was raised to liberty and command : and the other, in the height of security, fell a victim to his arrogance.

Ragobah was instantly brought out of his confinement by Saccaram, and by him and the other ministers saluted Paishwa. His adopted son was sent to Sattarah to obtain the investiture of the office, with which he immediately returned, and Ragobah entered, in all appearance, peaceably upon the execution of it.

The conspiracy against Naron had been kept secret to the moment of its execution : and as no life was sought but his, Nanah Furneze, and his adherents, had time to save themselves by flight. Ragobah recalled them, and, having given them assurances, they resumed the exercise of their offices ; Ragobah was acknowledged by them, and all the in-

ferior offices throughout the Maharatta state, and every thing seemed peace.

Mr. Mostyn, the resident of the English Company at Poonah, made him the usual presents, accompanied with a proffer of our friendship, which was accepted, and mutual engagements were entered into to maintain the alliance made with his ancestor Badjerow.

But, though every thing at Poonah wore the appearance of peace and acquiescence under this establishment, dissatisfaction and fear lurked in the Durbar, and in a short time broke out to the disturbance of the state, and ruin of the Paishwa.

The mischiefs which had sprung forth during the first imprisonment of Ragobah, were but kept under in the short administration of Madharow, and revived with more force than ever in that of Naron. Hence Ragobah, at his accession, found an exhausted treasury, a cessation of the payment of tribute by the neighbouring princes, and the principal offices held by persons attached to one or other of the parties which divided the Durbar. Both united in their sentiments as
to

to him. Even Saccaram and his party were determined, if possible, to keep him in such a state, that he should be dependent on them, or at least not of strength sufficient to enable him to call them to an account for speculation and iniquitous waste of the public treasure. For their freeing him from imprisonment, and installing him in the Paishwaship, was not owing to any affection for him or his family, but solely to the necessity of shewing something of a regard to the public, which might cloak their interested views. Ragobah knew this well: he had already felt the effects of their cabals; but as he was now not under the power of any superior, he did not fear influence; he therefore took the shortest method of mending his affairs and recruiting his treasury, by requiring the payment of arrears of tribute from the princes of Indostan, at the same time managing the revenues of the state by his own officers, without a duan or treasurer: to bring the former measure to pass, he applied to Modagee Bouncelo, that some of the force under him should join the small body he had on foot; and at the head of these he marched against the Nizam of the Decan, to bring him to pay the arrear due by him, and en-

camped in his territory. Though he knew the disposition of both parties against him, and from the nature of man must have concluded that Saccaram's disappointment, in not being Duan, must have made him a bitter enemy, he left Poonah, without proper precautions, accompanied by some of those very persons who dreaded his power, and feared, when thoroughly established, it would be turned against them. The consequence had nearly proved fatal to him : part of these retired from his camp, when in sight of the Nizam's army, and the other concerted measures to deliver him up to his enemy. They succeeded so well that in November 1773, when the Nizam's forces encountered him, having been, in the beginning of the action, surprized in his tent, to which the Nizam's troops had been suffered to pass, he narrowly escaped after receiving some wounds ; a total defeat of his army followed. But as the nature of those troops prompts them soon to fly, so it saves many, who immediately again appear in arms ; Ragobah was therefore soon again at the head of an army, which, by Modagee joining him, amounted to 60,000 horse ; on the other hand, Shabajee, brother to Modagee, who disputed with him the

Rajaship

Rajahship of Berar, joined the Nizam with a force of 40,000. Ragobah having taken the fort of Muldroog advanced to Badar. The armies lay several days in sight of each other; frequent skirmishes ensued: both parties suffered great inconvenience: Ragobah, from want of money, and the distrust of those who remained at Poonah; the Nizam from the great expence and the uneasiness on seeing two Maharatta armies in his territories: they were therefore easily brought to treat on the 9th of December 1773, and a peace was concluded. Ruckna al Dowla, the Nizam's vizir, promising on his behalf to pay twenty-five lacks of roupies *, and to cede some fortresses agreed on. This treaty was followed by an interview between those princes, in which the Nizam having convinced Ragobah of his inability to pay the sum stipulated; he, who wanted to secure the assistance of so powerful an ally, and expected much larger treasures from the Carnatic, and the country of Hyder Ally, changed the terms of their treaty, and relinquished the demand of the money, on the Nizam's undertaking to furnish a certain number of troops whenever he should demand them.

* About 250,000 l. at 2s. the roupie.

Having finished these affairs, he directed his march towards the country of Hyder, demanding the arrears of Chout, at the same time writing to Mahomet Aly Cawn nabob of the Carnatic, requiring his assistance. Having advanced as far as Cutberge, thirty cofs * west of Bedah, he was there met by Hyder's vaqueel, who immediately entered into treaty: Hyder paid down twenty-five lacks of roupies, and in return obtained the possession of the districts of Mudgwanny, Hanfcotah, and Chunda Groog.

Ragobah then turned his thoughts to the invasion of the Carnatic, to demand arrears of Chout from Mahomet Aly; his army by his success had increased, and the hopes of the plunder, which is ever the fruit of those expeditions, had drawn to him a great number of horsemen. This boded destruction to that whole country, not only from the ravages of his troops, but an invasion by Hyder, who would not have failed to take advantage of those circumstances. Fortunately for Mahomet Aly the attention of Ragobah was called off by the effects of the cabals at Poonah, to which his absence had furnished an occasion. The party which had so suc

* A cof is nearly two miles.

denly changed the fortune of Ragobah, soon found that their hopes of his suffering them to acquire an increase of riches and power were vain. They remembered the steadiness of his administration when regent, his determination to restore the power of his office, and prevent the mischiefs which had given them such influence and wealth; they now saw the first steps of the same plan, and with the more likelihood of success to him and ruin to them; as he was not governing for another, but in his own right, all parties were equally interested to prevent the growth of this system. The principal among them, Saccaram Bappoo, Nanah Furneze, Hurry Peut Furkia, Anunt Seva Gi, and another, united in a league, which they called The Five Friends: as the hazard was great, so the stroke was bold; they determined to deprive him once more of the Paishwaship and liberty, and seize the government. This scheme was thus brought about: Naron had left a widow called Gungaboy; it was given out that she was with child, and the 30th of January 1774, she was seized by them, together with another lady, wife of Sudaboy, a chief of the Paishwa race, who pretended to the regency, and whom they kept

in confinement, and carried to the fort of Porounder, where five bramin women then with child accompanied her ; thus they obtained a great probability that a male child should be born in that fortress ; till his production the government was to be carried on in the name of Gungaboy, they assuming no higher title than that of ministers. Every person in the interest of Ragobah was put under a guard ; and the Friends immediately levied troops to support this usurpation.

But notwithstanding all their precautions Ragobah was informed of their proceedings, before their advices could reach the confederates they had in his army, and through whom they expected to seize his person : he saw his danger in the strongest light ; many of those who surrounded him he knew to be of the bramin faction, and united with the ministers, and he judged that the tale of the pregnancy of Naron's widow would seduce many more. His first care was to secure his person ; he disbanded his army, and retired to Gutty, a fort possessed by Mora-row Goparah, a Maharatta chief, who had great power and influence in that country, and commanded a considerable body of troops.

Fortunately

Fortunately he declared himself his friend, and not only afforded him a retreat where his person was secure, but promised him assistance to reduce this rebellion. An impolitic step of the Five proved at the same time favorable to him. They too soon shewed the reality of their views by calling on all the chiefs to discharge the arrears they owed; this provoked many, and drove them to Ragobah, who by these means saw himself once more at the head of an army; that raised by the Five, commanded by Trimbuck Row, a chief of great reputation, was now marching against him; by the accession of Shabagee's force it had increased to 60,000 men; Sindia, Holcar, and the Nizam joined in the league with the ministers: ruin now seemed inevitable: nevertheless, as he had now an army in which he confided, through his opinion of Mora-row who supported him, he marched from Dalari on the south side of the Khristna, and crossing that river advanced towards his enemies. A body of troops from the Nizam had joined them, so that in all respects they were superior to him. This inspired them with a confidence of which he took the advantage: on the 24th of March he halted at Merits, a place within four coss

of them ; in the entrance of the night he placed a strong party in ambush, and then decamped with all the remainder of his army, leaving his tents standing, and all his heavy artillery : this apparent flight soon reached the ears of Trimbuck, who led the van of the enemy ; he, flushed with the hopes of a victory so easily gained, hastily marched in pursuit, without waiting for the Nizam and Shabegee who were in the rear ; he met no opposition till he had passed the ambush ; but then, to his great surprize, saw Ragobah marching swiftly to attack him in front ; at the same time the corps in ambuscade fell upon his rear. Trimbuck endeavoured by valour to repair the mischief brought on him by his rashness ; but it was in vain : his army was totally defeated, he himself wounded, and taken prisoner. Ragobah now advanced toward Poonah. Holcar and Sindia, who had not sent their quota of troops, though required by the ministers, seemed to stand neuter.

The consternation at Poonah was now great ; strongly impressed with the terror of the return of Ragobah at the head of a victorious army, it was once proposed, as the only means of safety, to release the Rajah, and

and restore the antient form of government, by which proceeding they reckoned to secure the adherence of most of the Maharatta chiefs. But this was a measure too replete of danger to themselves; they must have been called to account for all the usurpations of their cast, which from that hour would be depressed; loss of wealth, perhaps of life, might probably follow. A few moments reflexion induced them to adopt a less dangerous plan, which the birth of a child in Porounder, offered them an opportunity of executing. On the 28th of April 1774 a male child produced, as born of Gungaboy, was called by the name of Madoo Row Narrain, and acknowledged as Paishwa.

Although this contrivance was most gross, and attended with every circumstance of fraud, the first report of pregnancy arising so considerable a time after the death of Naron, the seizure of the widow, the strict care that none but their own confidential dependents should have access to her, a fence being erected round the fort for that purpose, but above all the causing her to be accompanied by five women with child, insomuch that it was, at the time of her confinement, publicly

licly called an artifice, and treated as such by the Nizam in his proposals for a pacification; yet, such as it was, from its nature it kept many in suspense, and enabled the contrivers not only to screen themselves, but maintain their power. The doubt that a son of Naron's might exist, detached the friends of the family from the interest of Ragobah, and the hopes of becoming considerable in the administration of persons who must embrace every resource that offered, and highly reward those whose services they needed, induced many, otherwise indifferent, to espouse this cause. Ragobah was now within four coss of Poonah, when, on the 13th of April 1774, letters from the Five Friends to Holcar and Sindia were intercepted by him. The matter and style of them was such as led him to conclude that a correspondence was established between them, and that some bargain tending to his destruction was either schemed or actually begun. The infidelity naturally to be suspected from Indian chiefs so seized his imagination, that he gave himself no time to examine whether these letters might not be an artifice of the faction, and were not purposely thrown into his hand: he therefore
instantly

instantly determined to leave a place which seemed with such danger, and have recourse to the friendship of others. He immediately retreated with a body of a thousand horse, with which, on the 27th of May, he crossed the Nerbudda, and seemingly directed his march towards Dehli, to which place his remaining friends imagined he would go; but when he reached Indoor, he turned short, and joined Govind Row, who was then at the head of a considerable army actually carrying on the siege of Broderah. Govind promised to espouse his cause, and if their forces had been joined, they would have found themselves at the head of 40,000 men.

If the letters thus intercepted were a device, it succeeded even beyond the expectation of his enemies. Holcar and Sindia, if become adverse to him, had thereby a colour for joining the cabal, and his flight making his affairs seem desperate, they saw the fairest opportunity of completing their defection. Accordingly a treaty was entered into between them and the Five Friends, who found it necessary to establish their system on a basis more extended; and to interest the Rayput chiefs in their cause, which, when supported

supported by the joint interest of the brahmins and warriors, would become immovable. Holcar and Sindia, and five other Maharatta chiefs, were therefore associated, and the whole called by the name of *The Twelve Friends*. The infant Narrain was by them acknowledged Paishwa, and the firpaw procured for him from the Raja. The principal article of agreement among the Twelve was, the total and perpetual exclusion of Ragobah from the government.

The remains of Trimbuck's army had been re-assembled under another general named Hurry Furkia, who joined the Nizam and Shabagee : they followed Ragobah in his retreat. Ragobah's officers pressed him to attempt an engagement with them, hoping by a decisive stroke to end a service for which, in his circumstances, he was not able to pay them, for his treasures were exhausted. This ardour made him suspect their fidelity : on the other hand, the Nizam and Shabagee, though they did not separate from Furkia, invented delays, their intention being not to put an end to the war, but harass Ragobah, and draw money from the ministers. This afforded him time to make his retreat without

out loss, and to deliberate upon his future proceedings. He did not chuse to venture a battle, but directed his views to Bram-pour, hoping that when there he might be able to raise money ; and that if Sindia and Holcar were well inclined to him, which he flattered himself might be, as the latter had received him in his retreat, and that both had quarrelled with the ministers, they would have it in their power easily to join him ; his project was then to return into Berar, till the ensuing rains should oblige the Nizam to quit the field. And if he was not joined, but forsaken, to go to Sujah ul Dowla, the Nabob of Owde, under whom his brother served in a considerable command.

Union could not long subsist among his enemies ; each claimed a superiority over the others. Some endeavoured to get Raja Ram, whom they kept confined at Sattarah, and who had no children, to adopt a successor, whom they would have recommended ; but this he refused.

This unsettled state of affairs at Poonah not only gave Ragobah time to breathe, but opened the eyes of many who were originally
well

well inclined to him, and encouraged some to assist him with their force. He was now at Indoor, where Holcar and Sindia sent him considerable bodies of men. Govind Row was his declared friend; so that he was once more at the head of a numerous army. Hurry Furkia having left a considerable detachment near Poonah, marched with the remainder towards Aurengabad. Shabagee retired towards Berar; the Nizam in disgust withdrew, and remained till the rains were over at Dowletabad, which was to be delivered to him.

On the 27th of June, Saccaram, Nana, and Gungaboy, in the dead of night, flew precipitately from Sharpoor, where they were to have resided during the rains, to Porounder: they pretended they had then found the truth of a treachery which they had long suspected, that Morabah Batchiabah Bobagee Naig, whose son had married Rago-bah's daughter, were to have seized them: that Batchiabah was to have executed this scheme. Being discovered, he retired towards Jezeray: Morabah who, through his great interest among the people, thought himself secure, remained at Poonah; the others went
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to Baramooby. During these troubles Hyder, Bugatta Jung, and Morarow Gopperah reduced the countries on their side of the Carnatic, and laid siege to and took several forts belonging to the Mahrattas.

Before these last events, however great the appearance of success, Ragobah thought it prudent to strengthen himself by an alliance with the English. In the month of August preceding, he, through his Vaqueel at Bombay, had made overtures for that purpose: the request on his side was a body of troops; but the advantages he offered in recompence did not come up to what the interests of the Company and the repeated orders of the Directors obliged the council to require. The acquisition of Salcet and Bassien were the first, almost the sole object; the cession of either of these was what he could not then think of. The importance and revenue were great; the evident policy of that state was to restrain within very narrow limits every power in the western part of their dominions. The English from their strength and resources were of all others the most dangerous neighbours; and the brahmins, by the honour of their family, were

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bound

bound to preserve the possession of these territories; they made part of the particular demefine of the Paishwas. The great Chinnagee Oppah had conquered them from the Portugueze, and it was the only existing conquest made by the natives of Indoftan upon Europeans. These reasons, and the flourishing state of his affairs, induced him to reject the conditions proposed by the Bombay council, the principal whereof were the cession of these two valuable possessions. They waited till time in its revolution should offer the wished-for opportunity: it was now come. The infidelity of some, the inconstancy of others, and the continual dread of a reverse of fortune, turned his thoughts towards the English, whom he now looked on as the only allies who would and could effectually assist him; he therefore now made a second application to the council of Bombay, which, as he was in greater want of their assistance, contained offers affording a prospect of attaining the long wished-for possession of Salcet. To judge properly of this transaction it is necessary to consider the situation, circumstances, connexions, and views of the princes who inhabited that part of Indoftan. It hath been
 already

already mentioned that the Mahratta nation consists of many tribes governed by Rajas, acknowledging the sovereignty of the chief Raja, who resides at Sattarah, and paying a rent to him; in other respects they are like the ancient feudatories in Europe, independent; each governing his own subjects, being at the head of armies, and doing themselves justice upon any wrongs offered by their neighbours, but bound to a certain service when called on by the chief Raja, and furnishing a number of troops both to defend him against enemies, or to assist him in expeditions into the neighbouring provinces. Each of these princes actually maintains a considerable body of men, according to his means; these armies do not consist merely of real Mahrattas, but also of such adventurers as being destitute of possessions seek by soldiery to better their fortunes. If a man can purchase a horse fit for military service, he offers himself to some of the powers, whether Mahometan or Hindoo: thus their armies are soon formed. From the nature of such circumstances their chiefs are seldom united; each pursues the line which suits his interests, policy, or often passion or prejudice: their unions and separations are sudden and unexpected.

The most considerable of these chiefs, as well from the extent of his territory, as the number of his troops, was the Boniceio. The Raja was then an infant, adopted for a son by the last Raja Jonnagee; he was his nephew, the son of his younger brother Moodagee, who, as father of this minor, claimed the regency; but he had a brother named Shabagee, who being elder than he, in that right claimed it also. Ragobah had espoused the cause of Moodagee, and had besides by his adoption of Furrut-Ras strongly attached him to his interest; the Five of course espoused the cause of Shabagee. The embarrassment of the affairs of these princes obliged them to remain neuter. The territory of this Raja extends from Orixá to Guzurat.

The Guycawars possess the whole Guzurat, and the country as far as Danaum. It was won from the Mogul by Pillagee, the grandfather of the present Raja; he held it for some time in independency, but Domulgee his son was by Nanah compelled to yield some places in it, to pay a rent, and bind himself to furnish a certain quantity of troops when wanted. The revenues of their possessions amount

amount to eighty lacks of rupees, and their army to near 30,000 horse. Intestine divisions reigned in the family during the administration of Madoorow. Futty Sing had through his bribes to the governing bramins obtained the government; on the accession of Ragobah he was by him deprived of it in favour of his brother Govindrow; this produced a war, which had so far turned out to the advantage of Govindrow, that Futty Sing was driven into Broderah, where he was besieged by him.

Holcar and Sindia had considerable power; they had for a long time withheld the payment of their rent, and their view was to profit by the disorders that reigned among the bramins; consequently, though they had joined with the Five, and even become members of the confederacy, they had not continued that union, they found it to their advantage to act otherwise; policy requiring that Ragobah should not be totally destroyed.

Morarow Goparah possessed the fort of Gutti, a strong place, and also a very considerable district which bordered on the country of the Nizam. He had age and experi-

ence, and fought principally the preservation and quiet possession of his jaghire, wishing to side with neither party, and watching the opportunity of making an advantage of the broils of his neighbours.

The real as well as apparent interest of the Nizam was, that the dissensions at Poonah should not cease. He had already obtained advantages from Ragobah, by the cession of some districts, and had also received considerable sums from the Five Friends.

The interests of Hyder were the same; he was busied in reducing the forts yielded to him by Ragobah, and seemed rather inclined to favour his cause; but the probability was that he would assist neither party; yet his attention to seize any advantage which might offer, made him much to be dreaded. He had lately strengthened himself by an alliance with the Dutch, concluded with their ambassadors, Samuel Constantine and Charles Robert; the first article of which was a mutual engagement to assist each other against any power with whom each should be at war; the force to be furnished by each in case of requisition was settled, as was the pay

pay they were to receive ; the governor of Batavia was to furnish this force.

By the eighth article Hyder required, that should Mahomet Ally, or the English, wage war against him, the Dutch should assist him with all the force they had in India ; and if they desired to recover their country in Tanjore, he would assist them with all his force ; the Dutch were to have the preference in his dominions for sandalwood, pepper, cardamoms, and rice, for which they were to give iron and brass cannon, and all military stores.

The Company was at peace on every side : the war with the Rohillas concluded to their advantage ; the settlement in Bengal in a flourishing condition ; an army well disciplined, a treasury every day increasing, and the former errors of government and mismanagement of individuals almost obliterated.

Ragobah was now at the head of 40,000 horse ; and such were the circumstances of the country round, when he applied for the assistance of the English, and in recompence offered the possession of Salcet, Bassein, and

its territory, with the share of the revenues of Surat that belonged to the Mahratta state.

Such terms were what the Bombay council looked for; the attainment of them fulfilled the views of the Directors, and therefore they without hesitation accepted them. It was to be feared that, if refused, Ragobah would have had recourse to the Portuguese, who would have gladly accepted even less. They had then lately been put upon a respectable footing by the increase of their military establishment, and a great reformation in their government, and might have been of great service to his cause. On the other hand the tranquillity of the East of India was secured; though gratitude should fail, interest must bind Ragobah, the maintenance of his possession depended on the continuation of the assistance through which it should have been obtained: the total exclusion of the rivals of their trade in the dominions of this people; the accomplishment of such great ends, with honour, with justice, without bloodshed, with the prospect of securing a peace through India, the execution of the repeated orders from England, the crisis, the only moment perhaps never to return, should they
even

even hesitate; these were apparent. The Portuguese were watching the moment favourable to their repossession of those places. Their being conquered from them by Chinnagee Oppah in 1739, was not only a mortal blow to their trade and power, but a stain to their honour, and therefore the acquisition of them, whether by treaty or force, the constant object in view: if, upon the Bombay council's refusing or endeavouring to delay, Ragobah had applied to them, or if the distractions of the Mahratta state continuing, the so much wished-for occasion presented itself, they must have seized it, and a colour of justice would not have been wanting, since these dominions had been wrested from them so lately. This colour of justice the council of Bombay had not, nor could they, if once these possessions were resumed, grant aid to any Indian power to wrest them from the possessors *. Should the Portuguese neglect such an opportunity, and peace be restored

: The reforms then lately made in the management of the affairs of that nation had rendered them a much more respectable power than they had been; their marine was increased, both in number and the size of their ships; the Inquisition was abolished, and liberty of conscience given to all that settled at Goa or in its dependencies: the useless riches

stored to the Mahratta empire without the interference of the English, either by the destruction of Ragobah or that of his enemies, not only these possessions would not be ceded to them, but the collection of Chout would be renewed through all India. All parties are ready for an union on the proposal of these expeditions : probably the province of Bengal, most undoubtedly the Carnatic, would have felt this.

The treaty concluded, such troops as could then be spared were embarked for Surat, whence, as circumstances should permit, they were ordered to join the army of Ragobah. These were 2500 men under the command of Colonel Keating. The plan was to assist in the reduction of Broderah, then besieged by Govindrow ; and, after hav-

riches of the churches were declared to belong to the king, and were applied to public uses : the administration of justice was put on a firm footing, and carried on by persons sent from Lisbon, unconnected with the inhabitants of Goa ; the ranks of the clergy and military settled ; and that every thing might look to the encouragement of this service, the denominations of that rank were taken from military names : thus a bishop had the rank of a brigadier general. The force actually in Goa consisted of four regiments of infantry, amounting to 2240 men ; one of marines, 800 ; three of natives, 2000 ; and 6000 sepoy.

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ing put him in possession of that important place, and thereby secured a friendly country in the rear, to march directly to Poonah.

This treaty, or the preparations in consequence, could not be carried on with that secrecy necessary to secure the effects of them. Hurry Punt Furkia, one of the confederates, who commanded their army, was apprized of Ragobah's application, and determined to attack him whilst the superiority was on their side: ~~he~~ therefore, without loss of time, directed his march to Broderah. This obliged Ragobah to raise the siege, and retreat to the Mahi, a river near Cambay. Fatty Sing joined the confederate army; and, knowing the country, led them so expeditiously, that crossing the Mahi, they came unexpectedly upon the center of the army of Ragobah. An action ensued, in which Ragobah for some time defended himself well, till, by a party of Arabs who had engaged in the service of Govindrow, refusing to charge, he thought himself betrayed, and quitting the field, retired with one thousand horse to Cambay. His general Phaukrea, with the best of his troops, retreated to the fort of Copperwange, about one hundred and fifty
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cofs from Cambay, where Govindrow and Condah Row joined him. From Cambay, Ragobah proceeded to Surat, where the force sent from Bombay found him ; here he ratified the treaty. His general gave him notice of his retreat to Copperwange, with his allies ; of their safety and numbers, and of the possibility of effecting a junction with the English force should they advance to Cambay. Upon this it was determined our army should proceed there, the transport by sea was easy and secure ; on the 18th of March, they arrived, and proceeded to join the army of Ragobah. The confederate army lay between them ; yet, by a motion happily concerted between the commanders, the English got possession of a secure post beyond the confederates, and a junction was formed on the 19th of April 1775. The whole of the army thus combined amounted to 37,500 ; of which 2500 were English troops.

Fortune, or rather the ill-timed rapacity of the confederates, once more favoured Ragobah. Deeming his ruin compleated by the last defeat, they hastened to fill their treasury. Orders were sent to Hurry Punt Fufkia, their general, to seize Modagee Sindia, the jaghedar of Uguir, and send him to Poonah

nah to settle his accounts; he had intelligence of this, and knowing the consequences of such an imprisonment, he determined not to venture it, and suddenly left the confederate army with 12,000 horse; the pretence was, that troubles had arisen in his province, which his presence was necessary to compose. Colonel Keating lost no time in advancing towards the enemy; who, though superior in numbers, carefully avoided an engagement, constantly retreating as he ~~advanced~~, and sometimes so as might be well termed flying. Ragobah had some particular reasons to wish that our march should be directed northward, but the destination and express orders required that the march should be to Poonah.

The confederates were struck with the desertion of Sindia; it gave them room to suspect the sincerity of Holcar, their other northern ally; the Nizam, notwithstanding the cessions made, and subsidies granted by them, sent no troops to their assistance; their ally Shabagee Bouncelo had been lately cut off by his brother Modagee; several chiefs, on whose assistance they had reckoned, now grew cold, and did not join them; probably,

probably, if Ragobah marched with victory to Poonah, would follow his standard. The weight which the assistance of the English would throw into the scale, the extent whereof yet was uncertain; all these circumstances determined the confederates to hazard an engagement; if they were victorious it would stop the current, and prepare the way for a negotiation with us, which Sacaram Bappo and Nanah Furneze were then meditating; if they were defeated, the ruin now inevitable was only accelerated. They therefore sent orders to Hurry Furkia to risk an engagement.

In every war, whether external or civil, there are inconveniencies on each side, which furnish great advantages to the adversary: experienced persons know that they are inherent in the nature of human affairs, and from that experience conclude they exist: it was so here, Ragobah laboured under the want of treasure; when he was surprized and forced to retreat to Cambay, all he could carry with him was the value of six lacks of roupies in jewels; the remainder of his valuable effects, which had not fallen into the possession of his enemies, was secured in the
fort

fort of Dhar, where his family had retired, and was not then within his reach. These six lacks were insisted on as a pledge of his performing his engagements to the Company. The resource of borrowing from the Shroffs or money-lenders at Surat could be but weak whilst his affairs stood in a precarious situation, his own security was not sufficient to procure their trust, and it was a step too bold for the council of Bombay to engage the credit of the Company: this ~~distress~~ was well known at Poonah; and that the Indian troops, if not paid regularly, or have not some prospect of immediate satisfaction, will not fight, or if they are brought to face the foe do it faintly; and the confederates hoped some advantage would arise to them from it during an engagement: any fortunate turn, the accession of some chiefs, would so change the aspect of affairs as to make these disadvantages vanish: this was another great incitement to their determination of hazarding a battle.

Ragobah's wish was to have penetrated northward to Ahmedavad, where he hoped to have procured money, which he stood so much in need of; but this scheme was soon found

found by Colonel Keating to be replete with inconveniencies, not only as it delayed the principal object in view, which was his establishment at Poonah, but from the nature of the march itself, as moving southward would oblige the enemy to follow, and the sooner bring them to an action : he therefore insisted on bending their march that way. This had its effect ; the ministerial army followed, and on the 18th of May came up to the rear of the English, as they were at the entrance of a village where ~~there~~ were some defiles ; their commander having expected this, his troops were very soon formed to receive them well, and though they attacked with great resolution, they were repulsed with a very great loss on their side, and very little on that of the English, till unfortunately the first company of European grenadiers, by an ill judged movement to the right retreated too precipitately from their ground ; they were followed by the Madras infantry, and these by some sepoy ; their movement, though too rapid, was regular till they reached some hedges with openings at intervals ; crowding to get through these occasioned confusion, during which they were charged with success by a body of ~~their~~ ;

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They then fled, nor could they be rallied, even by the commander himself; their flight having cleared the ground of them, the artillery played with such success on that body of horse, that there remained not more than ten. This unfortunate motion was owing to an order given by the commander to seize some guns of the enemy, which must have been improperly repeated and ill understood: many officers were killed on that occasion. This was the only loss on the side of the English; that of the enemy was very great, the artillery having destroyed great numbers of men, horses, and some elephants; many perished in their flight, and every day's news increased their loss. Thus the event was fortunate to Ragobah, and so damped the spirit of his enemies, that the confederate army never from that time was brought to stand another attack; they retreated, without even making use of the advantage of many defendable posts which the country offered. On the 19th of May Colonel Keating passed the Mahi in pursuit of them, but could not reach them till the 10th of June, when, at the pass of Bowapier, they crossed the Nerbedah; the English army there came up to their rear, which they at-

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tacked with success: many were killed, their cannon were lost in the river, and many men, horses, and camels drowned; they retreated from thence with precipitation, leaving great quantities of provender and provision that they had not time to destroy; which, with some horses and an elephant, fell into the pursuers hands: and thus the province of Guzurat was evacuated. To complete their misfortune, in their retreat, when they came to the Tappy, near Golow, it was so swelled and rapid, that in passing it they lost a thousand horse. A little time before this the Mahrattas from Bassein had made an attempt on Salcet, where they landed with 3500 men, but were repulsed with great loss on their side.

The monsoons near approach made a further progress southward dangerous: it was necessary therefore to suspend that part of the operations; but what remained of the fair season was employed in the reduction of Dubbay, a fortified place situated between Baroach and Broderah: this possession produced considerable advantages. Our army could winter there, and the proximity of Baroach made it easy at the opening of the
season.

season for such reinforcements and supplies as might be sent from Bombay to join the army ; thence the siege of Brodera might be easily undertaken. The possession of that place was necessary to secure the country behind, when the army should proceed to Poonah, the great object of the expedition. Other incidents then began to incline the balance to the cause of Ragobah, and the particular advantage of the English.

~~It~~ hath already been mentioned that Futty Sing, one of the Gwicawars, had been appointed governor of the country of Guzurat by the confederates ; as his advancement was owing to the money he had given them, he did not look on it as binding him to their cause, which he had espoused solely with a view of preventing the ravage of his country ; the cessions made by Ragobah to the English, shewed him things in a different light ; he had, even at the time he joined the confederate army, made distant overtures to him, the retreat of Furkia made them serious and earnest. The appearance of success was totally on this side ; if the reality followed it, all chance of his retaining any part of what he now possessed, was lost ; he had therefore recourse to

the mediation of the English, to whom he not only confirmed those grants which Ragobah had made in the country under his government, but made further cessions to the amount of 178,000 roupies * a year. Through this mediation a treaty was made with Ragobah; Futty Sing submitted to pay him the usual tribute, and furnish him the aid claimed by the Durbar of Poonah; and what was of most importance at that time, promised the payment of twenty-six lacks within the space of sixty days. Ragobah ~~found~~ means to satisfy Govindrow, and concluded this advantageous Treaty of peace and alliance in the month of July 1775.

The prospect of the affairs of the Company had not a less favourable appearance at sea. In the beginning of the year the Marhatta officer who commanded at Geriah had equipped a squadron considerable for that country: it consisted of five ships; one of forty-six, two of thirty-two, and two of twenty-six guns, besides ten Gallwats, or smaller vessels, also armed. Commodore John Moore, with the *Revenge* and the *Bom-*

* 17,800 l. at 2s. the roupie.

bay grab, coming into these seas, immediately stood toward this fleet, which bore away; he ordered the grab to chace the admiral's ship, which was that of forty-six guns: the grab engaged her; this gave time for the Commodore to come up before she could run ashore: after an engagement of two hours the Mahratta admiral blew up, and was entirely destroyed; her commander and most of the crew perishing. The trade along the Malabar coast was now effectually protected.

The cause of Ragobah seemed now triumphant; besides the accession of Futtý Sing, which enabled him to pay his troops, his friend and ally Moodagee Bouncelo now in full and undisturbed possession of his dominions, was advancing to join him at the head of a very respectable force. Ishmael Cawn was in march to join him with 4000 horse. Appagee Gunnis, who commanded at Ahmadabad, entered into treaty to surrender the place to him. The possession of this secured him from any enemy to the north of Nerbedah. A detachment was actually sent to receive it,

The confederates had made great advances to the Nizam to engage him to lend them assistance ; they offered to cede to him the important fortrefs of Dowletabad with Burhampore Affery, and some districts which the Mahrattas had conquered. Though he treated their pretensions, and the infant Paishwa they had set up, with the greatest contempt, the advantages offered were too great to be rejected ; the possession of these cessions once gained, a dexterous siding with the victorious party would confirm it. If fortune kept the balance even, whilst it did so he was sure of the continuance of this possession ; he therefore entered into treaty, and made a solemn engagement to assist them, and in consequence they evacuated Dowletabad, and gave orders to their troops to withdraw from the other ceded places : but now he saw the time was come when to retain these he must abandon his new allies : the English having espoused the cause of Ragobah, had changed the face of affairs : application was therefore made through the Nabob of Surat for the Nizam to be admitted into the alliance. He required the confirmation of what had been ceded to him, and that the English should guarantee ^{the} possession :

possession: in return he offered his whole force, consisting of 50,000 horse, 15,000 sepoy, and a train of artillery: at the same time he sent his vaquell to Ragobah to propose a general accommodation on this plan, that Ragobah should enjoy all the honours of the Paishwahship, and sufficient revenues to maintain his dignity, that the government should be carried on in the name of his adopted son Fur-rat Row, that the administration should be in Marabah Furneze as Duan, and the confederates fully pardoned, and secured in the possession of their effects, and the cessions, as just now mentioned, were to be confirmed to him.

As the cause of Ragobah advanced, that of the confederates declined. Sindia and Holcar had deserted them, and the loss of their assistance was a fatal blow, for on that they principally depended. Nanoo Oppah governor of Poonah, whose reputation and private character gave their party credit, was dead: Morabah Furneze who was one of the ministers, and a man of consideration, had not from the beginning joined the confederacy, though he had submitted to act under the government it had established: and yet,

so much were they afraid of his influence, that they left him unmolested. Shabagee Bouncelo * was no more, and death had taken from them another very useful friend in the person of Ruckna ul Dowlah, the minister of the Nizam, to which accident they attributed his leaving them, and treating with Ragobah. But the union of the English was the most fatal stroke; resistance to this was by most of the confederacy considered as vain in the end, and this despondency, which made each man solicitous for his own safety, and anxious for security of his person and wealth, made him suspicious of his neighbour, and desirous to prevent him in treating either with Ragobah or his allies; add to this, that from the known rapacity of the bramins, their success was dreaded, even by their friends; that vice had infected and depressed their affairs from the beginning. The several Mahratta chiefs who had been drawn to support their cause by promises of large sums, were frustrated: the

* There was a contest between Shabagee and Monagee; a battle ensued; in this Monagee was defeated and taken prisoner, and the next morning Shabagee was found dead in his bed: Monagee was restored and proclaimed Raja of Berar.

public treasure lessened by their partial management, and now exhausted by what they had sent the Nizam, could furnish no more; and though the bramins had great sums of their own, their avarice overcame their policy, and prevented their sacrificing any thing to the common cause; each, when applied to, referred to the treasure expected from the Sircars. The nature of their troops prevented their being relied on when opposed to regulars with a well served artillery; for each man had two fears, that for his horse being as strong as for himself, and as they are continually clamorous for their pay or other reward of service, the greatest advantage may often be lost for want of a sufficiency to satisfy them. Furkia was ever in dread of some accident of this kind; he saw the dissatisfaction among the chiefs, and every moment was at the eve of being forsaken, perhaps seized and delivered up to the enemy. This had induced him, even in his flourishing state, to try distant overtures for peace; during his retreat the evil increased, the men who had lost their horses openly complained, and demanded their pay of their leaders, who in their turn pressed their commander: to satisfy their demand was impossible;

possible; though he had received bills for fifteen lacks of roupies from Poonah, the Shroffs refused to answer them. His design was to have marched to the northward, where he would have been at hand to watch the operations of the allies in the opening of the campaign; but the army refusing to follow, he had been obliged to change his route, and march to Poonah: his army amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand horse and foot. In his way he passed through Holcar's country, who refused to advance any money, and under pretence that the death of Sujah ul Dowlah * made his presence necessary in his jaghiere he totally and avowedly withdrew his troops. Saccaram Bappoo and Nanah Furneze had sent Vaqueels to Bombay to treat of an accommodation: the Vaqueels were to treat jointly; one of them fell sick on his arrival; before he recovered, the president was attacked with illness, and it was not thought proper to break through the common forms which might have shewn too great an eagerness, easily construed into fear, the idea of which might have given

* Sujah ul Dowlah was the Nabob of Owde, a province bordering on the possessions of the Company, and lying between them and the Mahratta country.

them a confidence and encouragement to insist on better terms than what were the ultimate end of their commission ; which, though they had not yet declared, were, on good ground, supposed to be principally security for the persons and wealth of the confederates, and perhaps some private advantage for their immediate employers.

Thus all tended to the establishment of Ragobah, and the reduction of his enemies : this sudden transition from a state of wretchedness to that of prosperity was totally owing to the English having avowedly espoused his cause : a respect for their power, and a confidence in their faith, had induced the neighbour chiefs to follow that party, and make them guarantees of the performance of the treaties they entered into under their mediation : the prosperity and honour of the Company was fully established in the West as in the East of Indostan, when the exertion of the authority placed in the governor and council of Bengal, by the act of parliament passed in the year 1773, almost totally ruined the fair edifice so fortunately hitherto erected.

The news of the treaty with Ragobah and of the march in consequence, arrived at Calcutta the latter end of May 1775. Far from meeting with the approbation of the governor and council there, it was condemned by all as a measure impolitic, unjust, and unauthorized; impolitic, as throwing the burden of the war on the Company; unjust, as no injury had been received from the Mahratta state; and unauthorized, as the act of parliament vested in the Supreme Council the authority of treating with the powers of Hindostan. The manner of carrying on the war in consequence of the treaty was no less reprobated than the treaty itself. Sending the Company's troops at such a distance from Bombay was called a rash step, which might be attended with fatal consequences. The governor general, in his minute of the 31st May 1775, painted these supposed evils in a very strong light, though at the same time he presented many difficulties attending the execution of any orders they might give in consequence of this reprobation; and therefore professed that he was much embarrassed in his choice of what measures might be most proper to be taken. That as things could not be replaced as they originally stood, so the distance

distance they were at prevented them from knowing the exact situation of them at that time ; that it might be such that the withdrawing our troops from Ragobah might be attended with many difficulties, perhaps dangers. He therefore proposed that the president and council of Bombay should be enjoined to cancel the treaty with Ragobah, and withdraw the detachment within the lines of the English possessions, unless it should appear, in the first place, that they had obtained some considerable advantage ; or, secondly, that it should be dangerous to recall the detachment ; or, thirdly, that a negociation should have taken place between Ragobah and his opponents.

Mr. Barwell concurred with the governor general in the exception proposed, and voted against the recall of the army ; but General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis were totally against any exceptions whatsoever ; and it was voted by that majority, that the treaty should be cancelled, and the troops absolutely recalled. It was determined to enter into a direct negotiation with the party at Poonah, and to send Colonel Upton to treat with them in the name of the Supreme Council ;

Council: the purport of the instructions to be given to him was, in the first place, to express a regret for the hostile measures adopted by the council of Bombay in concurrence with Ragobah, the Supreme Council's disapprobation of that treaty, their desire of re-establishing a sincere and lasting peace, to excuse the seizure of Salcet as a measure only to prevent its falling into the hands of the Portugeze, and to alledge the impossibility of restoring it without the permission of the Directors, to inform them of the orders given for the withdrawing our troops from Ragobah, and to endeavour to include him in the treaty.

In the mean time letters were written to Saccaram Bappoo at Poonah, announcing the departure of Colonel Upton, expressing a disapprobation of the measures pursued by the council of Bombay, and informing them of the orders given in consequence. Saccaram was an extraordinary person; he had risen from an original state of poverty, which prevented the first rudiments of education, by a natural address which supplied that want, he had by degrees advanced his fortune so as to attain the principal offices of the state,

His experience seconded his talents, but not knowing how to write or read he was obliged to make use of and trust others. His principal confidant was a bramin called Lalar, who had been governor of Concan, a province including Salcet and Bassein, and had reason if that party prevailed, to hope a return to that government. Saccaram knew the true interests of the Mahratta state, and therefore was naturally averse to any cessions of territory, and every measure which could tend to give power and strength to the English; this inclination must have been greatly strengthened by the representation of Lalar, who, by the cessions proposed, would be so great a loser; this letter was therefore too favourable to their views, not to produce great effects. The first was, fresh instructions immediately sent to their Vaqueels at Bombay, which arrived before they had declared in form the purport of their mission: this now appeared very different from the humility which accompanied their first application: they demanded that the person of Ragobah should be delivered up to them; the restoration of Salcet, and other acquisitions which were then in actual possession of the English; and the relinquishing all thought
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of Bassein, in return for which they condescended to defray the charge and expence hitherto incurred : yet at this very time, in all respects, other than the change likely to happen by the resolution of the Bengal council, the affairs of the confederates were in a situation almost desperate ; Morabah Furneze had sent a trusty person to Rāgobah with assurance, that he and four of the most powerful men at Poonah were strongly attached to his interests ; and information that Furkia was at Aurengabad, having scarce 5000 men under his command ; that the whole force of the confederates did not exceed 12,000, and those not easily assembled, or worthy of dependance on them ; that Saccaram and Nannah Furneze had secured themselves in Ponder fort, fearing to go from it ; that Morabah himself was actually collecting a force from the troops lately paid off by the confederates, which he doubted not, by the time the allies could ascend the Gauts *, would amount to 10,000 horse, with which he would join Ragobah, and carry him without bloodshed to Poonah. At the same time the news from the southern parts were equally

* Gauts, Goats, or Gattes, are passes through the mountains.

favourable : Beefi Sing, the Raja of Marwar, sent his Vaqueel with information, that he was on his march to join him, that he was within forty-five cofs of Aurengabad, and that his force consisted of 10,000 men.

The council at Bombay were struck with amazement at the resolutions of the Supreme Council, and the celerity with which they acted in consequence. They deputed Mr. William Taylor, one of their body, to Calcutta, to represent the motives which had induced them to act; the consequences of what they had done; the happy situation of the affairs of the party they had espoused; the benefits that would result to the Company from the cessions stipulated by their treaty with Ragobah; the danger of reducing him to despair, by abandoning his cause; the disgrace that would attend a breach of a treaty so solemnly made; and the necessity they were under to make it, if they would obey the orders of the Directors to omit no occasion that should offer of getting Salcet and Bassein into possession.

Mr. Taylor arrived in the beginning of October 1775, and, on the 9th, presented a
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memorial to the Governor and Council, representing these several matters, and proving the fatal consequences of sending any person directly from Calcutta to Poonah.

After defending the measures of the Bombay council, by shewing the advantage accruing from this treaty, and the necessity of acting in conformity to the orders of the Directors, the danger attending the alteration of measures, and forsaking Ragobah, from the circumstances of the neighbouring princes, the disgrace necessarily following the breach of a treaty, which, though perhaps rescindable by the Supreme Council, if the settlement by the late act of parliament was such as to invalidate in every case, the acts of subordinate presidencies when not confirmed by that council; yet as to the powers with whom it was made, unacquainted with these new arrangements, and confident that when they treated with the Bombay council, they treated with the Company, must be looked on by them as having force, and not to be rescinded without a breach of good faith; the policy of keeping up the present mode of administration in Poonah without running the hazard of having the bramins dispossessed, which might happen if
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by the destruction of Ragobah that party should want a chief, and must end in re-establishing the Raja in power, and put an end to all dissention, the consequences of which must be fatal to the peace of all the rest of India.

That as the letter written to Saccaram was worded, implying that the Supreme Council were unacquainted with the acknowledgment of Ragobah as Paishwa previous to the treaty, it left it yet in their power to chuse what measures they would take ; he therefore entreated them to warrant and assist the council of Bombay to fulfill their engagement with the Paishwa, as the only safe and honourable expedient in this juncture, and probably the last opportunity of attaining the end proposed by the Directors, and establishing the affairs of the Company on a firm and solid basis. But whatever might be their ultimate resolve, as to treating at Poonah, he most earnestly recommended that the orders for withdrawing the army from Ragobah should be revoked ; it would have at least this good effect, that all parties would be kept in suspense until it should be finally known, whether the present contest should

be decided by treaty or arms; it would prevent the bad consequences of a desertion of Ragobah, which must be that of his allies, and inevitably of the English; that whatever judgment might be formed of the origin of the measures, even though the council had unnecessarily engaged in a war, yet the continuance of it, as things stood, was necessary to the safety of the Company. If it should be objected, that this war was a violation of engagements formerly entered into with the Mahratta state, and of a neutrality recommended by the Directors, the answer was plain: these engagements being with the acknowledged chief of that nation and its legal representative, could not be a violation, but were in truth a continuation of the old; that on one side honour, acquisition of revenue, and influence in the first state in India, must be the consequence of pursuing the enterprize; on the other weakness, disgrace, and ruin must follow the retreat of the army before the accommodation which settled the interests and secured the safety of the several parties should have taken place. Before Mr. Taylor presented this memorial he had conferences with the Governor General, and each of the members of
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the council. The Governor, whose long residence in and experience of the affairs of India, made him a more competent judge, was soon convinced that the step was precipitate; Mr. Barwell joined with him. Indeed he had from the beginning opposed the withdrawing of the army; but the three members lately arrived from England had adopted a principle of peace in all events, and therefore over-ruled every expedient proposed by the Governor for complying in some measure with the representation of Mr. Taylor, and so determined was their resolution, that an answer was returned to his memorial the very day it was presented. All these things happened in October 1775 *.

In consequence of the resolutions taken by the Supreme Council, positive orders were sent to the council of Bombay, that the English army should immediately withdraw within the limits of the Company's possessions; that if Ragobah desired a retreat, they should afford it him; that until the treaty should

* It may be proper to place in one view the several places ceded to the Company by the treaty between them and Ragobah, with their produce to the Company.

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should be settled between Colonel Upton and the government at Poonah, they should retain the possession of Broach, Coriab, Chicke-

Salcet, Caragah, Elephanta, Hog Island,	Rs.
and Canary produce a year —	350,000
Bassein, with its dependencies, —	400,000
Orpad — — — —	350,000
Jambosier — — — —	400,000
The Gwicawars Share of Broach	350,000
To be paid annually from Occlasier	75,000

Total Roupies 1,925,000

Which, at 2s. the roupie, is L. 192,500
and at 2s.3d. the common
exchange, is L. 216,562

Presented to the Company ———
since the treaty by Rago-
bah, and Fatty Sing on
the conclusion of their
treaty,

	Rs.
Coriab, near Broach,	50,000
Chickely, near Surat,	100,000
Veriow, near Surat,	28,000
Ahmood, adjoining Broach,	150,000
	<u>328,000</u>

Total ceded for ever 2,253,000

Remaining security for the } L. 225,300 at 2s.
payment of the subsidy } or L. 253,442 at 2s.3d.

Remainder of the revenue	Rs.
of Occlasier	110,000
Hanfoot — — —	127,000
Verfaw — — —	100,000

Total security 337,000

ley,

ley, and Versaw, but carefully avoid all hostilities with the Mahratta army. Colonel Upton was to perform his journey to Poonah by land. Though this was to take up a great length of time, no inconvenience was foreseen, as it was supposed that, upon a cessation of arms, every thing would remain quiet and in the same state, and that passports, as well as conveniencies of travelling, would be procured for him during his whole route by the provision of the Poonah government. The Colonel set out on the 10th of July 1775, with a proper accompaniment, having with him Captain Allen Macpherson, Sir James Paterfon, Dr. Sutton Banks a physician, and Captain Benjamin Wroe: and on the 24th of September had proceeded as far as Benares; he there received letters from Saccaram, the contents whereof gave him no great encouragement; and whose style was such, that he complained of it to the Supreme Council, who thereupon wrote to Saccaram; and at the same time to the colonel, that he should take advantage of the situation of the army under Colonel Keating, by telling the Poonah ministers, that it now remained inactive near Surat, but that it should act according to their behaviour; if they made

any motion with their troops, that army should likewise move, and the Supreme Council would not think themselves bound to keep terms of amity with them: that as the Council meant to act with good faith, they expected the same treatment in every instance.

The earnestness of the English for peace had appeared plainly in the beginning; for the cessation of arms had been published, and taken place in the month of August; and now, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Ragobah, that the army should not yet withdraw from him, as it would produce such a coldness amongst all his friends, who would give up his cause as lost and himself as ruined that he should be immediately abandoned by them, the army, on the 20th of October 1775, began its march from Dubbay to retire into the Pergunnah of Surat; and on the 13th of November were within sixteen coss of that city. Ragobah dared not remain without their protection, and therefore with his troops followed their march; with hope, that from the representations made at Calcutta, the Council might be yet induced to favour his cause.

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The Nabob of the Carnatic, fearing the inroads of the Mahrattas when once they should enjoy peace at home, desired to have a share in any treaty which should be concluded by Colonel Upton with them ; and for that purpose that he might send a Vaqueel to Poonah ; the Council consented that Mr. Chambers should go from him to be assistant to Colonel Upton in what regarded his interest ; but he was not to treat himself with the ministers, or act in any other manner than through the Colonel, who alone was to manage all matters with them. Colonel Upton in proceeding on his journey did not find the effects expected from that readiness in the Poonah Durbar, which the majority of the Supreme Council flattered themselves with. On the 25th November he wrote from Bopaul, which is seventy coss from Burhampoor, that he met many obstacles ; that the country was in arms ; that he had yet received no passport from Poonah ; at the same time the ministry wrote to the Supreme Council, that they had given orders for having every thing prepared, so that Colonel Upton might have a free passage ; but that they had not then heard of his approach. The style of this letter shewed no pacific inclinations ; they complained that the Bombay council ;

council had not been attentive to the orders received from the Supreme Council; that they suffered the army under Colonel Keating to act offensively; they found fault that English ships sailed from place to place in their dominions, as if there was a full and entire peace established between the two nations; they threatened to intercept them by means of the Mahratta fleet, and to shut their ports against them, and that if the places which had been taken by the English were not immediately restored, they would set their army in motion to recover them.

The complaint of hostilities was without foundation. Colonel Keating had, on the 20th of the preceding October, begun his march toward Surat; and at the very time this letter was written, had already reached its neighbourhood. Yet, notwithstanding this boasting, the Poonah ministry were far from being in a condition to support this arrogance; for by Colonel Keating's intelligence, it appeared that Morabah Furneze * had embraced the party of Ragobah, that the ministerial army was reduced to 12,000

* Furneze is a title of honour, it means one in receipt of the revenue.

men, that they themselves were in such apprehension for their safety, that they had retired to the fort of Porounder, and were afraid to trust themselves out of it: and that Ragobah's partizans in Poonah were increafing.

Ragobah himself required that Colonel Upton fhould, in the first place, procure fome diftricts to be affigned for the maintenance of him and his adherents, till the final conclufion of the peace: that his pretensions to the Paifhwafhip fhould be fully difcuffed, by an examination of every thing relating to the birth of the infant pretended to be the fon of Naron: that if he fhould prove to be really fo, then he fhould, as his relation intituled him, be regent during his minority; and that when he attained his majority, and the regency was at an end, he fhould have a penfion fufficient to maintain him according to his rank.

After a tedious and difficult journey Colonel Upton arrived at Poonah, on the 30th of December 1775. Though he was at his arrival received with great civility, yet in a fhort time he found he had to deal with people not only inimical, but uncertain; in-
 fomuch,

so much, that in the beginning of February he had no hope of concluding any thing with them. The detail of what passed between him and them from that time to the conclusion cannot be interesting. After many entanglements got over, at last, on the 1st of March 1776, a treaty was signed at Porounder by Colonel Upton, on the part of the Company, and Saccaram Bappoo and Ballagee Pundit, on that of the infant Paishwa. By this it was, in the first place, mentioned, that peace between the Company in general, and the Bombay council in particular, and the infant Paishwa and his ministers, Saccaram and Ballagee, on the part of the Mahrattas should be fully established. That this peace on each side should be forthwith proclaimed. That the Mahrattas being anxious to recover Salcet, would in return give the Company a country producing three lacks of roupies, in the neighbourhood of Broach; but it was to be left to the option of the Supreme Council whether or no to accept this equivalent. The advantages to the English were :

1st. All right to the city and pergunnah of Broach was to be ceded to the Company free from all demand whatsoever: they were to have likewise a country of the yearly produce

duce of three lacks adjoining to Broach, the bounds whereof should be determined by two persons for the Company, and two persons for the Mahrattas : and for the expences of the war, the English should be paid twelve lacks ; six within six months, and six within two years.

In return for this, all and every part of the Guzurat country which had been ceded by Ragobah to the English (that only settled on them by this treaty excepted) was to be restored ; and all the country ceded by Futtu Sing to the Company was to be given up to the Mahrattas, upon their producing proofs by the letters and sunnuds * of the Paishwas, that Futtu Sing was not authorized to make such a cession. Besides,

All treaties made by the Bombay council with Ragobah were declared to be annulled, as was also that with Futtu Sing. In consequence the English troops were immediately to march within the limits of their presidency. Ragobah was to disband his army, and all his adherents but four (who were by name excepted) were to have a full and free pardon ;

* Sunnud is a grant under seal.

if he refused to disband, the English were to give him no assistance, but withdraw from him; and in consideration of his disbanding he was to have a train of a thousand horse, and a proportional number of foot, which should be paid by the Poonah government, as well as two hundred domestics; and he was to receive three lacks of roupies a year, by monthly payments; but he was to reside at Coopergunge, and not change his residence without licence from the Paishwa. The English were not to aid or assist in any manner, either Ragobah or any person disturbing the peace of the Mahratta dominions: these covenants were to be mutual *.

These are the material articles of this treaty which was ratified at Bengal, by the resolution of the majority; the presidency of Bombay made very severe strictures on it, which they forwarded to Bengal. Ragobah looked upon it as his ruin; the fixing of his

* The advantages to the Company by this treaty were in point of revenue as followeth;

Salcet	—	—	—	350,000
City and pergunnah of Broach				500,000
Country adjoining to Broach				300,000

1,100,000

L. 110,000
at 2s.

residence

residence at Coopergunge he considered as an imprisonment, and the thousand horse, and proportional number of infantry which were to be paid by the Poonah government, as a guard set upon him, either to keep him in that prison, or deliver him to their paymasters; and he declared, that it was better for him to try his fortunes with the few friends that might remain firm to him, than submit to accept such terms. He asserted, that confiding in the protection of the English nation, he had rejected offers made to him by the Nizam: he desired that he might make his appeal to that nation, and in the mean time take shelter in Bombay, that his person might be in safety.

There was some reason for Ragobah to have entertained hopes that his condition would have been better than it proved in the treaty: for not long before the conclusion of it Colonel Upton from several untoward circumstances, supposed the negotiation totally broken off, and had written his opinion to the Supreme Council, who, concluding it really so, had in consequence written to Bombay, that they might in that case be prepared

prepared to renew hostilities, and had also written to Ragobah, promising in that event an effectual assistance to reinstate him. They had besides applied to several other princes, Hyder, the Nizam, Modagee Bouncelo, Sindia, and Holcar, to support his cause; if they declined this, intreating them to remain neuter. At the same time they had concerted measures with regard to Owde, and ordered a brigade to march to the frontiers of Corah, nearest to the Pass of Culp; but all this was put an end to by the signing of the treaty.

Another accident which happened about that time helped to raise his hopes whilst it embarrassed the ministers. There was a person of the Paishwa race, called Subahi, or Subadah, the son of Chimnagee Oppah and brother of Badgeerow, who was reported to have been killed in a battle near Panniput in 1761. A long time after a man appeared at Poonah, who asserted he was that identical Subadah or Subahi: he produced many proofs of that identity, but the government at that time looking upon him as an impostor, had confined him in the fort of Rutnah Geriah. This man had now escaped from thence, was joined by several chiefs with some troops, and

and Row Dullop who commanded the Mah-ratta fleet, had declared for him; he claimed to be regent either singly or jointly with Ragobah. These circumstances might induce Ragobah not yet to disband his troops; a more specious reason was given, that he had not money to pay them. He followed our army with them when they marched from Dubbay; and now they had moved to the environs of Surat, it was thought necessary, with the troops lately under Colonel Keating's command, to reinforce the garrisons of Surat and Broach, lest some accident should happen from such a neighbourhood. Whether this excited a jealousy that something was scheming between the English and Ragobah, or that the ministers were chagrined at not having him in their power, they complained to Colonel Upton, that the Bombay council had not restored the places which were to be ceded by treaty; that they had supplied Ragobah with military stores: adding, that Hyder had pursued proper measures in enforcing his treaties by arms; and that if, in these particulars, satisfaction was not given them they would carry fire and sword through all the Company's territories. The Bombay council denied these assertions; they said,

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that as to the places ceded, they had sent orders to Surat and Broach to have the pergunnahs delivered up upon the appearance of persons properly authorized to receive them; that no such had appeared; that remonstrances had been made to Ragobah, but his inability to pay prevented his disbanding his forces: that their garrifoning Surat and Broach was an act of necessity, no way inconsistent with peace, since it prevented accidents which might happen from the neighbourhood of the troops of either party; that they were so far from plotting to renew the war, that when the Nizam had lately offered his assistance to Ragobah, if the English would engage not to take part with the Mahrattas, they had declined giving any such promise. They on their side complained, that no good effects had yet appeared from the treaty, that to the great detriment of the English, no communication or intercourse was yet permitted with the Mahratta dominions; which prohibition was so rigid that no persons were permitted to come from the neighbouring ports to Bombay, even to sell vegetables or other provisions; that the Mahratta fleet had taken six vessels coming from Goa under English colours

lours which had been separated by a storm from their convoy, and carried them into Gheriah; that they had refused sending a Vaqueel to Bombay to explain the reason of this behaviour; that it was not possible to execute that part of the treaty which related to the country ceded by Futtty Sing, he redemanding this from Ragobah, upon this ground, that the conditions of the treaty with him were not performed; that he denied that the Poonah government had any right to demand them, or any thing to do with these revenues, all that related thereto having been fully settled in the year 1759, when a division was made of the Guzurat country between Poonah and the Gwicawars. Thus each party started difficulties, and the treaty remained without any article of it being fully carried into execution. A whole year was spent in altercations and mutual complaints, when the year 1777 opened a new scene.

In the beginning of April a French ship arrived at Collaby, a place at the entrance into the river of Choul, which landed several gentlemen, who sending notice of their arrival to Poonah, had not only leave given them to

go thither, but were received in great pomp, there being an escort ordered of twenty-five Arab sepoy's with an elephant, twenty camels, a palanquin, and some horse. The person who appeared to be chief among them styled himself Chevalier de St. Lubin, a man already well known in the English settlements in India for his intrigues.

This man, on the 17th of April, was received and had long conferences at Porounder. Mr. Mostyn who now resided at Poonah, on behalf of the English remonstrated against his admission to the Durbar, but he was answered that his present reception was in consequence of an application made two years and a half before, and that matters had then so far advanced, that his reception could not be now refused. The ship was brought up to Choul, where her loading, consisting of artillery, fire-arms, copper, and cloth, was landed. St. Lubin assured the Durbar that two ships more would soon arrive, for which he demanded permission to winter in their harbours. On the 8th of May he had an audience of the Paishwa, in which he presented credentials from the king of France.

It was much doubted, not only by the English, but by the French resident in India, whether St. Lubin had any commission of the kind he pretended, or was at all authorized: Monf. Belcombe, commandant at Pondicherry, refused to acknowledge him as ambassador, but the French agent at Surat answered his draughts: the persons who accompanied him suspected him. The truth, from the information of the principal among these who had fallen out with him, and took refuge with Mr. Mostyn the English resident at Poonah, appeared to be, that St. Lubin had jointly with Monf. Dumas, an officer of rank in the Canada army last war, and governor of the Isle of France, obtained Monf. de Sartine's approbation and consent to a plan they had formed, which was, that St. Lubin should embark at Bourdeaux, on board a ship called *La Paix*, as minister plenipotentiary in the department of commerce to the Mahratta court; Monf. Dumas was to embark at Brest on *L'Indien* at the head of 1500 men, which were to be joined by 1000 to be shipped on board *La Paix*, the whole 2500 to be under the command of Dumas, who was to have the department of war in the expedition, as St. Lubin had of

commerce, and 500 more were to be landed at the Isle of France by a private merchant ship. Monf. de Sartine actually visited the ports where the ships lay. St. Lubin, who wanted to be at the head of all, by his private insinuations prevailed on him (unknown to Dumas, who then thought him gone to Lyons to take leave of his friends) to consent that he should sail in a private ship from Bourdeaux, that he might prepare all things for the reception of the force which was to follow under the command of Dumas; this was to join the Mahrattas; after which they were to strike some great stroke. St. Lubin had the powers of insinuation to a great degree; plausible, assuming, and ready of speech, he gave what he said an air of truth, yet he was superficial, and ever ready to sacrifice truth and every thing to his interest, even to the detriment of his own nation. By his representations of the mighty advantages that would result to France in general, and in particular to those persons who embarked with him, he carried out some gentlemen from Bourdeaux, who soon after their arrival in India, saw they were the dupes of their credulity, and that things at Poonah were in reality very different from what

what he had represented them to be. By the first packet he sent to France, which was to go by Surat, they wrote to their friends what they saw: these letters he opened, and from that time became their enemy; and so violent was his persecution, that he prevailed on Nanah to order one of them, *Monf. Corcelle*, to be put to death, after having himself attempted to kill him: another person was seized by mistake, and would have been thrown under an elephant's feet, had not a bramin found he was a Dane. The protection granted to this *Monf. Corcelle* and *Mr. Madget* by *Mr. Lewis*, the then English resident, was made a subject of complaint, in the bickerings which followed. For from that time the English resident met with a treatment, which fully shewed the effect of *St. Lubin's* negotiations and promises.

Nanah Furneze, then the acting person in the *Paishwa's* ministry, entered into confidence with him on his undertaking to bring a considerable military force to Poonah, completely furnished with artillery and stores; and an alliance was to be concluded between France and the Mahratta nation. That his promises might be effected, Nanah gave him

the free use of the port of Choul. At this time Saccaram and Nanah were the principal ministers at Poonah; Saccaram was old and infirm, and residing in Porounder, acted mostly in the care of the person of the infant Paishwa. Nanah, about the age of fifty, active and enterprizing, aspired to the chief rule, likely to devolve upon him at the death of Saccaram.

From the protection he had afforded Mr. Bolts before the arrival of St. Lubin, and his connections since with that minister, it is apparent his dispositions were not favourable to the English. Another person, who might be looked on as a minister at Poonah, was Morabah, nephew of Nanah, a man of great influence and ability, and also of great prudence; till that time avoiding interference in those troubled scenes; inclined to Ragobah.

Sindia and Holcar who hold the country extending from Guzurat to the banks of the Jumma, originally paid a tribute, but in the present weakness of government are grown independent. A moiety of Guzurat and Salcet, Bassein, and the country of Broach, belonged

longed to the Paishwa family; the Bouncelo family possess Berar and Nagpoor in perfect sovereignty.

The interest of St. Lubin at Poonah was an alarming circumstance. It was so high with Nanah, that, in order to prevent any opportunity the English resident might have of procuring intelligence, he prevailed on him to place guards upon his house. This was not the only insult; on his complaining of this treatment, he was answered, that all Europeans should leave Poonah; that if the English desired to have an agent there, a Carcoon (that is an inferior person) would answer the purpose, and Nanah expressly desired he would inform the Bombay presidency of this. This message was highly resented by them, and a disavowal of it insisted on, but in vain; on the contrary, the restraint was increased.

Other circumstances concurred to shew that some schemes against the English were forming. The French agents and chiefs were busy every where. General Belcombe had a sixty-four gun ship ready, in which he was to be carried to the coast of Malabar, with
a com-

a company of Europeans, a large suite, and some arms ; Mahi was the place named, and it was given out he was only going to visit that settlement ; but the real view was to bring to maturity the plans formed between St. Lubin and Nanah ; this appeared fully by the proceedings which followed.

The diffensions among the ministers at Poonah were now considerable, Mr. Mostyn, the English resident there, had for some time perceived the seeds of a revolution. On the 10th of December 1777, the council of Bombay received advice that Saccaram, Morabah, Butchaba a man of considerable influence, together with Holcar, had confederated to remove Nanah from his employment, and restore Ragobah, provided the council of Bombay would join them, and with a military escort conduct him to Poonah. That each of these chiefs had the command of 10,000 horse, and that Sindia, who was then absent at the distance of sixty leagues from Poonah, was supposed to be in the same interest. At this time Furkia, the commander of the Mahratta forces for the ministers, was on the borders of the Carnatic, where he had invaded Hyder Ally, who

in

in two engagements had totally defeated him. And Raja Ram, the nominal sovereign of the Mahratta empire, died the beginning of January.

The council of Bombay thought great advantage in the present circumstance might be reaped from this confederacy; but as by the treaty of Porounder Ragobah was totally excluded, it was judged proper that Saccaram, who was the principal actor in that treaty, should, jointly with the other confederates, send the proposal in writing and under seal; this done, they promised the concurrence desired. The 12th of December they advertized the Supreme Council of the whole matter. The governor general looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of counteracting the operations of St. Lubin, and therefore proposed upon those conditions to authorize the Bombay council to conclude such an agreement, and promise them assistance in men and money; the resolution passed, and ten lacks of roupies in bills were immediately forwarded to Bombay; and that council was expressly enjoined to adhere to the requisition that Saccaram and the other persons should send the proposal under their seals and signatures,

tures, and by no means to act, unless that condition was complied with. This was done in February 1778.

As it was judged that the council of Bombay were not of strength sufficient singly to carry so great a design into execution, nor to withstand the effect of St. Lubin's intrigues, should they succeed so far as to introduce a French army into the Mahratta state, it was thought prudent to have a force at hand ready to act as occasion should require. The country between the Ganges and Bombay and Poonah was now well known, and no more thought impassable for an army; the governor general therefore proposed to send a detachment under Colonel Leslie, an officer of ability, through the inland country towards Bombay, which might be at hand to act as occasion should require. It consisted of six battalions of sepoy and one company of native artillery, which were to be joined by a regiment of cavalry and a body of horse from the province of Owde; these were all to assemble at Kulpee, near the Jumna, and from thence proceed, through the countries of Boondelchund and Berar, towards Bombay.

Colonel Leslie had served in the late war under General Wolfe, and by his zeal and activity had so far recommended himself to the favour of that superior judge of military merit, that he was among the few distinguished friends to whom the general had by his will given honourable tokens of his regard. This reputation he had supported in the course of his service in India, he had particularly distinguished himself in the Rohilla war by a judicious attention and unremitting exertion in the duty of quartermaster-general, though part of the time labouring with the gout. His instructions were, “ To proceed by the most practicable route to Bombay, or such other parts as he should be directed to by the committee of that presidency ; he was to prefer the route through the Boondelchund country and province of Berar, but if refused by that Rajah, not to persist, but according to his judgment and the result of his enquiries vary his route, making it his first care to reconcile the chiefs to his passage through their countries, but at all events to prosecute his march, from the beginning of which he was to obey such orders from Bombay as were not contrary to the tenor of his instructions. He was advised of the several letters written to the chiefs,

chiefs, and particularly the Rajah of Berar, to procure passports and supplies of provisions; and it was recommended to him to cultivate a good understanding with them, particularly the latter; he was authorised to use every expedient necessary for the safety and supply of the detachment without infringing the peace subsisting with the Mahratta state, and to adhere to the treaty of Porounder: the strictest order and discipline was recommended, and every attention to preserve any possible imputation of blame, nor was he to act offensively, even at the requisition of the Bombay Council, unless they should declare that there was actually a war, and he was to advertise them as frequently as possible of his progress."

These instructions corresponded with those given to Mr. Alexander Elliot*, who for his talents in negotiation, was unanimously chosen an Ambassador to the Rajah of Berar, with whom the governor general had long kept a correspondence.

* Mr. Elliot was brother to the present Sir Gilbert Elliot, and was a young man of surprising knowledge, ability, and diligence; unfortunately for the Company and his country, he died before he could execute his commission.

The revenues of this Raja amount to one hundred and fifty lacks yearly, and he is at the head of 30,000 horse.

Modagee, related by blood to the Rajas of Poonah, had been adopted by Sahoo the predecessor of Ram Raja, and looked to the sovereignty of the Mahratta state at the death of Sahoo; but Ballagee, then Paishwa, defeated this succession, and raised Ram to the throne: Ragogee, the father of Modagee, to assert his son's right, marched with a considerable force to Poonah; but the Paishwa found means to appease him by concessions of great value; the most considerable was the independence of all the Bouncelo possessions. In the year 1773 Shabagee, one of the sons of Ragogee, being then chief of Berar, had sent a Vaqueel to Calcutta with an offer of alliance. Mr. Hastings, then president of that government, proposed conditions similar to those which had been granted to Sujah Doulah the Nabob of Owde. Shabagee being slain, this negotiation dropped, and the change of government at Calcutta, by the forming of the Supreme Council, destroyed the probability of renewing it; yet the Vaqueel was by Mr. Hastings kept some time in hopes that

that there yet might offer an opportunity of doing it with effect, but he had lately sent him home. Modagee, when settled, sent him back to Calcutta with a tender of a friendly alliance; and Mr. Hastings, foreseeing that the troubles in the West of India might draw the English to take some part in them, looked on this as a circumstance which might in some event prove a fortunate connection. On the determination of sending Colonel Leslie's detachment, he wrote to Modagee, desiring a passage through his country. The answer was most friendly; he not only consented, but promised to send to the banks of the Nerbuddah a quantity of grain and other necessaries for the English army, and a body of horse to escort them through his territory; and added, that he had written letters to Colonel Leslie to advise him of this. The escort and stores were accordingly sent.

The situation of affairs convinced the governor general more and more of the necessity of having some resource to counterbalance this interest of the French; it could not be doubted but that if matters in Europe proceeded to a war, the flames of it must spread to India, and the nation which found
itself

itself strongest and best prepared would strike some stroke against the other. Bombay and the possessions of the English in that quarter were the parts most liable to an attack; the directors had warned the Supreme Council of this; every circumstance warranted their conjecture. These conjectures were but too well founded; and fortunately the governor general had something yet stronger to decide him. Mr. Elliot, in his return from England to India, had passed through Paris, where he had the opportunity of learning the real situation of things from persons thoroughly instructed; he was fully informed of those steps which inevitably must bring on a war. He knew the whole progress of them; this he communicated to the governor general, who by this means saw his conjectures become a certainty.

This made him turn his thoughts still more strongly to Berar, and he resolved to make an alliance with the Raja Modagee, at least defensive; but which might, according to the occasions furnished by events, be improved to an offensive one. It was for this purpose that Mr. Elliot was chosen to

go to the Durbar of Modagee; his instructions were to the effect following :

He was to form his judgment on the actual state of that government, the intelligence he should receive from the neighbouring states, and particularly the advices from Bombay, and regulate his proceedings accordingly; and as in the several matters he might treat of, some were in their nature such, that what was stipulated must be permanent, he was not to conclude any articles concerning these without having communicated them to and received the approbation of the Supreme Council; but those where the provisions were only temporary and required immediate decision, he might conclude without such reference.

That as the primary intention was a perpetual defensive alliance, to have mutual interests and reciprocal confidence must therefore be the ground-work: on these principles he should stipulate,

1. That a mutual friendship should be established between the two governments;

ments; that the friends of one should be the friends of the other, and the enemies of one the enemies of the other.

2. That a certain number of troops should be kept up within our frontier in the nearest and most convenient situation to his dominions; that a monthly subsidy proportionable to the expence should be paid by him.—This article was to contain a power to alter the numbers, or even decline or withdraw the whole.
3. That on his part a body of cavalry should be kept up for the service of the government of Bengal, who should not be the native militia accustomed to plunder, but regular troops; that the pay of these should be only when employed—This article was not to be indispensable.

Such were his instructions as to the articles upon matters permanent in their nature; as to others which were temporary and required decision and immediate activity, the grounds on which he was to regulate his conduct, were as follow :

The residence of St. Lubin at Poonah, and the interest he had cultivated with the ministers, made it likely that some stroke might be expected from thence, and as the probability was now that war existed between the French and English, Bombay must have been the first to feel the effects of it. Designs yet greater might be in agitation, and an attack upon Bengal from the internal parts of India, with the assistance of the Marhatta force, was to be apprehended. The Bombay presidency were authorized to assist in carrying on the plan communicated to them in December last of excluding Nanah from the government, and restoring Rago-
bah ; the detachment sent under the command of Colonel Leslie was formed to second these endeavours ; but the undertaking had failed in the principal part ; the change among the ministers was effected, but Rago-
bah not restored. Thus deprived of the resource hoped for in the friendship of Rago-
bah, and aiming at obstructing the French interest and counteracting their schemes, and it being dangerous without the support of a powerful alliance for the detachment to proceed on its first destination, it must have been a most desirable thing to have a mutual
interest

interest, and to join our forces with those of Modagee. This was founded on very good reasons ; his dominions lie between those of the government of Bengal and the country dependent on the Paishwa, and border on them and the country of the Nizam. There must exist a natural jealousy between his family and the government of Poonah : their animosity had been increased by many reciprocal acts of violence. Modagee had strong pretensions to the succession of the Raja Ram : he had a natural enemy in the Nizam. The situation of all affairs in those parts was therefore in the first place to be learned.

If the council of Bombay had not entered into new engagements with Ragobah or with the party governing at Poonah which clashed with the following instructions, and that a French force was at Poonah, or that Mr. St. Lubin was still there, or that no circumstance offered to contradict what was already known on that head, a direct union with Modagee for carrying on a war against the Mahrattas at Poonah, was to be offered : in all this great discretion must be used ; the principal aim being to defeat the French combination, to prevent their receiving as-

sistance in their attack upon Bombay, and to establish a connection between the English and the Mahratta state, to insure their support against the French, or any other nation with whom the English might be at war.

The negotiation therefore was to be suspended until through the information of the Bombay Council, or of Mr. Mostyn the resident at Poonah, the nature of their engagements should be fully known; there must be an entire conformity to their measures; no offensive plan whatsoever must be adopted which could in any manner counteract them; a defensive one was, and ever to be, the main object.

The Raja of Berar is a sovereign and independent power. If the French interest with the Poonah government was dissolved, and no hostile intention against the Company subsisted, the treaty concluded at Porounder with the Paishwa Narrein remained in full force; and no engagement contrary to it must be entered into: but this treaty was not contradicted by a defensive alliance with Berar, nor even by an offensive one which regarded other powers: nor by the precaution of a stationary force

force on the frontier. In return, Modagee might expect from the Company to be assisted in asserting his right to the Rajaship, and in recovering the places conquered from his family by the Nizam; the latter being foreign to our purpose therefore nothing was to be concluded on that head unless an absolute necessity of it was apparent; and then the stipulation must have been confined to the places taken by him since the death of Jannogee.

If the Nizam had joined the French or their allies at Poonah, then the terms proposed by Modagee were to be listened to. If the prospect in the succession to the Rajaship was fair and probable, it would be right to treat upon that matter; our end in it would be answered by the exclusion of French influence: the positive advantage on his side intitled us to demand some return; as the full reimbursement of any charges the Company should be put to, the confirmation of all the cessions made to the Bombay council by Ragobah and Futtty Sing, and to the Supreme Council of Bengal by the treaty of Porounder; in these matters the council of

Bombay must guide. No territory on the Bengal side of India was desired.

Notice to be sent to the council of Bombay and to Colonel Leslie of what should be concluded,

He was to take special care that no part should be taken in the disturbances annoying the Bouncelo family.

Whatever agreements should be entered into, were not to be restrained to the person of Modagee, but extend to his successors.

These instructions shew the apprehension of the danger, and what remedy was conceived to be the most efficacious. There was no necessity of changing the situation of the detachment from the Bengal side of the Nerbudda, or altering its destination, till the state of affairs was fully known. It was at hand to act according to the measures which should be concerted with Modagee. If the first scheme failed, it was ready for the second; if they both failed, it was near our frontier. When once the news of a war with France should arrive, it must decide what measures were absolutely necessary. At all

all events that influence in the Mahratta state was to be destroyed; for if once St. Lubin could bring troops and stores to Poonah, whatever party he espoused must command obedience; and in that case Bombay would not be the only object, the province of Owde must be the scene of ravage, and probably they might extend their views so far as to dispute the possession of Bengal *.

Small is the dependence which in those cases could be had on Bombay. Some other resource must be found: Modagee, by his

* The following incident shews how just were these apprehensions. Mr. Elliot in his journey overtook Mons. Chevalier, chief of Chandernagore, at Cuttack on his way to Poonah, and prevailed on the Naib to assist in seizing him. Among his papers was found a letter from General Belcombe, dated Pondicherry, 12 July 1778, relating to the situation of affairs between the English and French nations, to which was this remarkable postscript:

“ It would be proper for me to apprize the Mahrattas
 “ at Cuttack and Berar of the disposition of the English
 “ respecting a war, which appears to be inevitable; and
 “ that I should write to those at Poonah, that this is the
 “ moment to unite, in order to crush that ambitious na-
 “ tion, who hath already met with considerable losses in
 “ America, which they seek to repair by subjecting all the
 “ princes of India.”

Other letters intercepted by the Bombay council shewed the reality of the French designs, and how much they at that time exerted their whole powers to bring them to maturity.

situation,

situation, by his interests, and by his inclinations, was the most probable one.

The advantages arising from this scheme must be great. A body of troops kept on our frontier in the manner proposed, increases our force without any expence to us. The Berar cavalry is the best in India: the station of the troops must cause a concourse of people in those parts, which may bring into cultivation that region, now neglected, though the soil is good and capable of fertility. An inland communication with Bombay and Madras will be opened, and a barrier will be formed on that side of our possessions.

But a yet greater advantage follows this station: Nangpoor* is the center of the peninsula; the army may thence conveniently reach the dominions of the surrounding princes, and act either for their defence or to their annoyance. They must behold our power and the possessions ceded to us with jealousy, which our European enemy is watchful to improve. The loss of the northern circars must affect the Nizam; he was then in league with the French and the Poo-

* The capital of Berar.

nah ministry; his brother Bazalet Jung, who had for his life the possession of the circar of Gontour, between the territory of the Nabob of Arcot and that of Mazulipatam, had at this hour five hundred French in his service, which all the representations and endeavours of the council of Madras had proved ineffectual to remove from that country. No emplacement of our troops could be so formidable to those princes as that near Berar. The bare inspection of the map of India shews the importance of the situation of that province in regard to the three great powers who bound our possessions. The prince of Berar is our natural ally; he hath no intercourse with France: the first step of the Poonah alliance must have been an invasion of his territory to force him to lend his assistance to their attack of Bengal.

The trade of this province is another very material article: it produces the best cotton in India, which is spun into fine thread, and exported in that state to the dominions of the Company. The duties are at present high; but even under this disadvantage these manufactures yield the greatest profit of any brought from India. The Dutch, besides spices, send
great

great quantities of copper into Berar ; this article may be turned in our favour. The climate some months in the year is comparatively cold ; this may produce a demand for woollens. Many other advantages there may be which commerce itself will bring forth.

Another revolution in the Poonah ministry demonstrated the ascendancy of French influence. On the 25th of August letters were received at Calcutta from Bombay, mentioning that Nanah had recovered his rank and influence, upon which Morabah had applied to them for immediate assistance to conduct Ragobah to Poonah, sending articles subscribed by him and Butchabah ; Holcar agreeing to this by a separate paper under his hand, that they approved of the proposal, but had deferred acting in consequence to the month of September, that they might in the mean time be authorized by the Supreme Council, or receive directions from London. The answer authorized them to proceed, provided what they should undertake did not endanger their safety, or prove contrary to any engagements which Mr. Elliot might have entered into with Modagee. This answer was transmitted through him, who was
at

at the same time to let them know the state of the negotiation. Thus by the mutual correspondence which must arise from the observation of his instructions with regard to that presidency, it was probable that on either side nothing could be done but what was best adapted to the state of affairs in the West of India.

Before the detachment marched the governor general, to prevent any danger which might happen by Bengal being left open to a French invasion, had taken the following precautions: a naval force was prepared; two ships of forty guns each had already joined Sir Edward Vernon, and there remained in the mouth of the Ganges two frigates and three cruisers, under the command of an excellent officer*, which, joined to what was already in that region, must keep off any armament of our enemies, and cleanse that sea from pirates which annually infest it: and a supply of troops in the room of that detachment was provided. The army was augmented with nine battalions of sepoys: the companies had before been augmented to eighty rank and file: these might upon oc-

* Captain John Richardson who had served with credit in the late war.

cation be formed into four battalions of seven hundred men each. The artillery was augmented with two companies of Europeans, and four battalions of native artillery-men; these, with some addition, are composed of Lascars, who have now the advantage of discipline given to their former laborious duties; besides this, the militia, amounting to one thousand men, was embodied. This, with the alliance at Berar, must sufficiently secure Bengal by land: and there is no probability of success to an invasion of it by sea; for the inconveniencies are too many and too considerable: the season of setting out; the season of arrival; the number of troops necessary; the quantity of stores and ammunition of all kinds; the number of ships of war and transports; the length of such an embarrassed voyage; the chance of loss by sickness and death; on the landing the want of cattle, artificers, and coolies; all these militate against such an undertaking. The true way of invading Bengal is through the provinces, by alliances with the powers of the country; the Mahrattas are the only power to serve this purpose, and a firm established friendship with Berar the most effectually way of preventing the effects of such an alliance. On the other hand, every thing

calls

calls them to Bombay, the neighbourhood of the Mahrattas, and the convenience of the port of Choul, are advantages not to be met with in other parts of India.

Whilst these things passed in Calcutta, the proceedings at Bombay were, by the fluctuations at Poonah, rendered variable, and could not answer the warmth with which they at first set out. On the 19th of January 1778, they received advice that an agreement had been signed at Poonah between the ministers and St. Lubin, by which the French were to have Row Dunda or Choul, that they might the better carry in their troops and artillery. Upon this they resolved that nothing but a change in the administration at Poonah could secure the Company from the dangers and bad consequences of the alliance between the French and Mahrattas; and that there was no method of averting the evil impending, but by the Company taking a decisive part. They communicated this to the Supreme Council, who approved it; and recommended to them to obtain the following conditions:

1. The personal safety of Ragobah.

2. That

2. That a specific sum be stipulated for the military charges incurred by this interposition.
3. That Bassein and its district be ceded in perpetuity to the Company.
4. An additional grant of territory adjacent to Bassein and Bombay, in exchange for Broach, the lands ceded by Futtty Sing, and the Pergunnahs of Hanfood, Ashmood, and Derborah.
5. That no European settlement shall be allowed in the Mahratta dominions, without the consent of the Supreme Council; but this to be only extended to the enemies of Britain.
6. That a supply of ten lacks of roupies be immediately granted to the presidency of Bombay for the support of their engagements.

And at the same time, that they might be prepared for all events, requested the presidency of Madras to have two hundred Europeans, half a company of artillery, and a battalion of sepoy

sepoys ready to march to Anjengo, thence to be transported to Bombay, if required.

Saccaram was backward in putting his name to this instrument, though he acted privately with the confederates. Morabah would have taken the whole upon himself, and engaged, that if the English and he understood each other, he would settle the government in a month's time; but the Board insisted; and this kept back the conclusion of a treaty between them.

The dispositions of the several powers of the Mahrattas and their armies in January 1778, were as follows: Modagee Bouncelo was at Lacanwady Gaut, thirty coss eastward of Aurengabad; Holcar was at his own village Banbgam, with 12,000 horse, and five or six thousand Praeds *, refusing any correspondence with Nanah. Sindia endeavouring to raise contributions on Janogee Patancars jaghire, near Rimetpore, had occasioned a skirmish, in which Janogee was killed. Furkia had been again defeated by Hyder, and retreated to Panchmach, a place belonging to the Nizam, on the north bank of the Kristna, in hopes of receiving assistance from

* Foot soldiers and slingers.

Downsa, one of Nizam's generals, who was encamped about twelve coss from him. Hyder Ally, in pursuit of him had crossed to the north of Jongebodra. The Nizam, though strongly solicited to join the Poonah force against him, refused, unless the forts of Ashur and Armadanagur, formerly promised, were delivered to him. Furkia was soon after yet more unfortunate; for Badgee Punt Burwa, joined by several other Mahratta chiefs, attacked and routed his army, taking three elephants, his cannon, and plundering his Buzar*, he escaping only with five hundred horse. These different events, and particularly the last, were fatal to Nanah: his resource was to go to Porounder, in hopes, by the means of Saccaram, to persuade Sindia to go to the assistance of Furkia; who, far from receiving assistance from Downsa, had been by him desired to remove, from Panchmach, and had retreated to Serapore twenty coss north of Kristna: his scattered army there joined him, and he soon again approached to Downsa, still retaining hopes of assistance, notwithstanding his inclinations must have been against him, as he had a daughter contracted to Tippoo Sahed the son

* Buzar or Bazar, a market.

of Hyder *. But these hopes were kept up by his knowing that a Vaqueel from the Nizam had been sent to Poonah. The result of Nanah's conference with Saccaram was a resolution to endeavour by all means to procure the assistance of Holcar and Sindia to Furkia, and to send him money and 3000 men. Shortly after, in the month of Mirch, he was again surprized, and his whole force was reduced to 3000, with whom he retreated along the Kristna towards Meritz.

Thus the whole of the Mahratta state was a scene of confusion: each chief solely intent upon his private concerns, watching to advance his own interests as occasion should offer, and all in continual distrust of each other. Through all this chaos the party against Nanah continued their scheme of changing the government, and their intercourse with Mr. Mostyn; but Saccaram still delayed his signature to the request of assistance from Bombay. At last Mr. Mostyn was assured by the confederates, that on the

* Whether this alliance or other causes made him the object of the Nizam's suspicions, he was within a short time after taken off.

22d of March Morabah, Butchaba, and Holcar would move, that in five or six days they would appear on Porounder plain with 25,000 men; that Saccaram waited for that event fully to declare himself, and would give Mr. Mostyn entire satisfaction; that they should seize and imprison Nanah; that Morabah would write to the president, and also to Ragobah, which letters should be accompanied with the Bul Bundar, which is an oath of fidelity; that Holcar would also write to Ragobah.

On the 26th about noon Morabah and some other chiefs encamped on the opposite side of the river with 10,000 horse. A detachment of fifty horse entered Poonah, twenty-five of which marched to the palace, the others patrolled the streets, directing the inhabitants in Ragobah's name, to keep quietly to their occupations, and promising safety for person and effects to those who should do so. An hour after Morabah arrived and went directly to the palace, where, paying his respects to Perwetty Bah *, he received from her

* Perwetty Bah was the wife of Subadah, who had been confined with the widow of Naron in the fort of Porounder,

here, the firpaw of Duan *, he began by placing his own people in the room of those who were the guard, whom he dismissed: the house of the Duan who had been appointed by Nanah had some of those new guards placed upon it. He then publicly received the compliments due to his station, after which he returned to his tents on the other side of the river, where he was to meet Holcar, who had advanced to the distance of three cofs; Saccaram lay distant about six cofs. They were all to join in the morning, when their whole force would amount to 30,000, and march to Porounder, whence they were to send a person of consequence to Bombay, who should attend Ragobah to Poonah. On the 30th of March an agent arrived at Bombay, sent by them, who in their name desired that no time should be lost in sending Ragobah to Poonah; but no particular proposals were mentioned. The Bombay council, in so turbid an appearance, could not determine what direction to give minister at Poonah; they left his conduct there

rounder, and after the death of Naron's widow, had the care of the infant Paishwa. It is not easy to conceive how she came to be so intrusted.

* Duan is treasurer, and principal minister.

to his own discretion, and his regard for the interests of the Company: but at the same time that they might be ready to profit by any events favorable, and which led to decision, they determined to prepare three hundred English infantry, two companies of artillery lascars, with a suitable field train. Colonel Egerton was to command this body, next in command to him was Colonel Cockburn.

The aspect of affairs at Poonah now promised the establishment of Ragobah. On the 28th of March Nanah was at the foot of the hill of Porounder with 5000 men. All his endeavours to encrease this force were vain; he was therefore compelled to submit to accept conditions from the party of Saccaram and Morabah; he agreed to accept an inferior office. Saccaram and Morabah were to be guarantees for his life and treasures. In this agreement no mention was made of Ragobah. The effect of this union was that Nanah's political system gained ground: Mr. Mostyn found that Morabah was not willing to abandon Bassein; and he wrote to the council, that Ragobah must not depend on a force to receive him there, that it could
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be had only from Bombay, and should consist of at least two battalions, with a suitable train of artillery.

Ragobah, on the other hand, giving full scope to his hopes, and shutting his eyes to all difficulties, was extremely pressing for his departure. The council remonstrated against this impatience, insisting that it was not proper to move, until a regular invitation, such as had at first been promised, should have come from Poonah. To this he answered, that his appearance would bring matters to a conclusion; that for want of it his partisans would imagine that the English were backward in his cause, which must dispirit them, and might tempt them to make terms with his enemies; that this was a crisis not to be neglected; that, added to some force which he had at Culwa opposite Tanna, the troops that could be furnished from Bombay were fully sufficient to complete his re-establishment. He assented to confirm the treaty of Surat, and expressed his wishes to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive, which should be bound by the strongest ties: he promised to grant Pergunnahs contiguous to Bombay, for a security of

payment of the troops. At the same time he desired that the British commander should have orders from the council not to intermeddle with his government; and he intimated that all the grants of territory yielded by his enemies to the Nizam and other powers should be resumed.

The Mahratta chiefs still continued in their encampments. Mr. Mostyn, on the 10th of April was requested by a particular letter from the Durbar, sealed with the great seal, to go to that near Currich, where he was met by Morabah, who told him that Gopal Naigue Tumbackar (who was the brother of Butchaba) was to be sent immediately to Poonah, and requested him to meet them at Nanah's camp near Porounder hill, where they were then going. He acquiesced, and was received with due ceremony, and marks of regard in a public tent, and introduced to the Durbar, where were present Saccaram, Morabah, Nanah, Butchaba, and several other chiefs, particularly Gopal Naigue Tumbacker. Great civilities were shewn him; but a final settlement with the Company was put off to Ragobah's arrival. Saccaram requested that Mr. Mostyn would accompany the

the person they were to send to Bombay; and upon his enquiring into the state of the French alliance, he was answered, that they had then under consideration the immediate dismissal of St. Lubin. The next day Tumbacker told him that on the morrow he was to set out; that a Durbar would be held for that purpose; that after calling at Poonah, he would proceed to Tanna. On the 16th Mr. Mostyn had another conference with the chiefs, who requested that he would assure Ragobah of their good intentions, and that they intreated him not to be induced by any reports to believe the contrary. Mr. Mostyn then took leave of Morabah. Notwithstanding those fair appearances things were far from being in a prosperous way: unaccountable remoras to Tumbackers journey appeared from day to day upon frivolous pretences, the principal of which were that some particular stipulations were to be made with Rogobah, and some objections that he made to the person of Tumbacker, whom he expressly desired not to be sent on this deputation to him, were to be answered and got over. Neither did matters go on smoothly at Bombay: that council had received notice from Bengal of the intended march of the detachment,

ment, and of Mr. Elliot's embassy. The majority of them conceived that things at Poonah wore so favourable an aspect, that with their own force, without any assistance, they would be able to bring matters to a favourable conclusion; and therefore that there was no occasion for the Bengal detachment. Upon this they resolved to write to the commander not to proceed in his march, but remain with his detachment at Culpee. The reasons they gave were, that the difficulties to be encountered in the country which lay between Culpee and Bombay were unsurmountable, and therefore the march impracticable, and exposing the Company's troops without necessity: that it was not possible to procure for them either passes or provisions; that the apprehensions expressed by the Supreme Council of a war with France, and of attacks upon Bombay were not grounded; and therefore the expence occasioned by such an undertaking was not warrantable. Mess. Draper and Stackhouse dissented from this resolution; they were of opinion the situation of the presidency was not altered either in respect of the French or the Mahrattas; that it was well known the French had designs against Choul. The event has shewn how ill-

ill-founded was the reasoning of the majority on every point. Perhaps there were other motives which occasioned this resolve. The detachment, had it reached Bombay, would have had the honour of all the advantages which were insured by the junction of the forces: this has so often influenced chiefs, and commanders in all ages, that attributing it to the majority of this council cannot be judging harshly. Notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Draper and Mr. Stackhouse, on the 22d of April, the council wrote to the commander of the detachment, desiring he would stop at Culpee, and not proceed till he should hear further from them. Raghobah's impatience, which daily increased, made him look over all difficulties; he pressed more and more the departure of the troops, and his own: he repeated the detail of advantages that would immediately follow the open and avowed declaration of the English, that they supported his cause. He desired to direct his march by Callian, where he affirmed that Visiagee Punt, a considerable chief, was upon his appearance ready to declare for him, and join his standard. He offered to put the Company into the immediate possession of Bassein, and desired a state of his account,

account, and the produce of the Pergunnahs to be assigned to the Company for the payment of their troops. But his affairs at Poonah were far from the situation the apparent zeal of Morabah and Saccaram had represented.

The Poonah Durbar were very uneasy at the march of the detachment from Bengal. The reason given for it to them both from the Supreme Council and Bombay, having been the danger that must accrue to the English settlement from the French being in possession of Choul, they desired to know if St. Lubin's immediate dismissal would satisfy the council, so far as to induce them to stop its march; they made excuses for his having been permitted to remain there so long; allowing that some promises had been made, they asserted that it was done only with a design to amuse him; they repeated their former reasons for the delay of Tumbacker; but, upon the whole, they evaded granting the dustucks or passports for facilitating that march through the Mahratta territories.

The Bombay council on the 15th of May sent their orders to Mr. Mostyn to speak peremptorily

remptorily to the Poonah Durbar, that they should declare whether they considered the treaty of Porounder as subsisting, and the Mahratta state to be bound by it; to demand, agreeably to that treaty, the possession of a country producing three lacks near Broach; to insist upon the countries ceded by Futtu Sing as they had not produced the proofs required by the treaty; to demand an explicit declaration concerning their engagements with the French; and to require an answer in fourteen days; telling them positively that a further delay or evasion would be construed into a refusal, and that the council should act in consequence.

At the same time they took off the restraint they had laid on the march of the detachment, and directed the commander to advance toward the coast. The reason they gave for their change of opinion was the continuation of the French resident at Poonah *, and the apparent bad disposition of the Durbar to the English.

Morabah

* Advices were received at Bombay that General Belcombe, commander at Pondicherry, had come to Mahé in a sixty gun ship; the council judging this to be the effect
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Morabah had a meeting with St. Lubin, at which he told him that the English jealousy made it necessary, he should absent himself for a time, but it should not alter the friendship of the Mahratta nation to the French.

St. Lubin had undertaken to Morabah to bring to Poonah 2000 Europeans within fifteen months, or at least before the detachment from Calcutta could arrive at its destination. The Poonah Durbar wrote at the same time to the Supreme Council to desire they would recal the detachment, upon this ground, that they were complying with the

of St. Lubin's intrigues, and fearing the consequences requested Sir Edward Vernon to defer his departure, who promised to employ his frigates in searching the whole coast, but added that he could not lose any time, but must proceed to Madras. General Belcombe's destination was said to be Surat, where he was to stay during the rains; he did arrive at Tillichery on the 3d of April 1778, in the Brilliant, a ship of sixty-four guns, and brought three hundred Europeans, who landed at Mahé. He got possession of a small fort by the cession of the prince of Cherrica, who had orders for that purpose from Hyder Ally, whose vassal he was. This possession was of consequence, as it commanded the approaches to Fort St. George upon Green Hill which is the key to Mahé. Mons. Belcombe was to leave Mahé the 26th of April, and return to Pondicherry. It was affirmed the Brilliant brought two hundred soldiers from Mangabore.

treaty

treaty of Porounder, that they sincerely intended bringing Ragobah to Poonah; that it was delayed only as it was necessary that Furkia, who was advancing with a large force, should be consulted; that Mons. St. Lubin was dispatched; that his ship had brought nothing but merchandize: and that they meant in all things peace and amity with the English.

In truth Morabah had urged St. Lubin to depart, that he might sooner bring the troops promised, but he still remained at Poonah, saying he would send letters which would bring them as soon as he could do, if he in person went for them. The Durbar at the same time wrote to Modagee Bouncelo, desiring that he would, if possible, by fair means persuade the commander of the detachment to return, and if he could not succeed by fair means to do it by force.

St. Lubin had, in the month of March preceding, written to the captain general at Goa for leave for two French regiments to pass through the Portuguese territories, and to the governor of Damaun for a permission for the French to use that port; both these requests

requests were with great civility refused, as they might tend to a misunderstanding between the two crowns of Great Britain and Portugal, who were in strict alliance and friendship; but liberty was granted for their ships to refresh in the Portugueze harbours, for which purpose they should be allowed fifteen days. St. Lubin in answer endeavoured to reconcile him to his request, and added, that though to yield to the English jealousy, he was obliged to leave Poonah, he should not do so without having fully effected his business.

It was evident that the Durbar were seeking delays, that the rains might come on before any thing was concluded. If they could retard the march of the detachment until that time, they reckoned the rains would then stop their progress, and during that interval the force might arrive which had been promised by St. Lubin, who, notwithstanding the promise of Morabah, remained at Poonah. Hence fresh occasions of delays were found on each application of Mr. Mostyn for the dustucks or passports. At last, he seeing that the dissensions in the Durbar still continued, and that Sindia and Holcar insisted on Ragobah's being brought to Poonah, applied

plied to them separately, and they readily granted him every order he desired for the safe and undisturbed passage of the detachment through their respective dominions.

The presidency of Madras, in consequence of letters from the governor and Supreme Council, had determined to send to Bombay the aid they had requested: they received letters dated the 29th of April, with advice of this: and now once more varied their orders for the route of the detachment, directing their march to Surat.

An attempt was made, about this time, by a relation of the infant Paishwa, who was one of his attendants, to steal his person from the fort; he had carried the child half way down the hill before he was discovered; there being stopped, he was sent to prison, and the child was carried back into the fort.

On the 12th of June the Bombay council received notice from Mr. Baldwin at Grand Cairo of the situation of affairs between the English and French nations, and the state of war they were in.

The uncertainties at Poonah still continued. Nanah, leaving his retreat had gone to Sindia, who received him, and promised him support. They sent to all the officers, requiring their acknowledgment of them as the ministers of the Paishwa.

Ragobah now informed the council that both parties had applied to him, and that even without the appearance of an English force he might proceed to Poonah, sure of success there. He allowed that both were his enemies; but said their discord was so great that nothing could go on, which drove them to this application; and he undertook, that his march would not be attended with any opposition, especially if the English force appeared with him, and that the carrying the cannon through the Gauts, and a supply of provision should be his care.

On the other hand Morabah was retreating from Poonah, having delivered the seals and the ensigns of office to Holcar, who sent them to Sindia, by whom they were delivered to Nanah, whereby he was once more established in the Durbar; but a very considerable number of adherents remained to Morabah,

Morabah, and it was probable, that this contest would not end without slaughter. Nanah's force in a manner surrounding Poonah and Porounder fort, and occupying all the passages in the mountains. He treated with Holcar as well as Sindia, and offered each of them immense sums if they would espouse his cause.

Nanah and Morabah each now wished interviews with Mr. Mostyn, who could not form a judgment which of them would ultimately get the better. He had procured a copy of the paper delivered by Nanah to St. Lubin on the 13th of May 1778, expressly requiring the assistance of France, "to punish a nation who had raised up an insolent head, and whose measure of justice was full;" and in reward of this aid promising a jaghire to be granted from the circar of the Paishwa. About the same time the Durbar had sent an answer to Mr. Mostyn's representations, no way favourable, but insisting, that they had in every sense complied with the treaty of Porounder. The council, on the 24th of June, resolved to have every thing in readiness to land their forces to accompany Ragobah, whenever it should ap-

pear that the passes in the mountains were free.

Mr. Mostyn being returned to Bombay, and having given the select committee there all his information, and remarks on the preceding facts and disposition of affairs, the nature of the country through which the troops must march in case of their joining Ragobah in his march to Poonah, which he represented as very practicable to infantry; the committee, on the 21st of July 1778, resolved unanimously, that the Durbar's answers were a violation of the treaty of Po-rounde. That the situation of affairs in Europe, and the restoration of Nanah Furneze, created a necessity of immediate measures to effect the subversion of that party which was connected with the French in schemes hostile to the Company, and for establishing at Poonah an administration with whom a secure and permanent alliance could be maintained. That for that end Ragobah must be placed in the regency, with a proviso that the government and Sicca * be continued in the name of the Paishwa during his

The seal.

minority,

minority, and should be surrendered to him at his legal age; that Morabah should be acquainted that they will heartily join in this plan; that an order should now be sent to the commander of the detachment to pursue the most eligible route to Junier or Zener *, avoiding in his march the proximity of Aurenghabad, or any part of the Nizam's dominions.

On the 11th of July Morabah had been seized by 2000 men of Sindia's force, and kept in the camp; at the same time all who were known to espouse his cause were seized likewise, among whom were Visagu Pont Binny, and Butchaba. Nanah had the name of minister, but Sindia had in reality the whole power; Saccaram was not so much as consulted, and it was probable that both he and Nanah would be soon confined, and Sindia act openly alone. Soon after both Morabah and Butchaba were confined in different forts. Mr. Lewis the resident at Poonah, by the renewal of the obstacles to his correspondence, soon found the influence of Nanah's government. That party now acted as if

* So called in Jeffries's map.

the continuance of their power was secure, the armies of Sindia and Furkia each day decreased, by their discharging numbers of their horse.

The governor general and Supreme council in the beginning of this month took possession of Chandernagore, and wrote to the presidency of Madras to order a sufficient corps of troops to be in readiness to march to Pondicherry, affirming that the war was now certain, and that if they had not received advices or orders to the contrary from England, they should proceed to hostilities; beginning by the attack of that place which would be their first, as the settlement of Mahi or Mahé should be their second capture,

Fresh proposals came now from Nanah and that party to Ragobah, all which he rejected, and insisted upon either being regent, and having the custody of the infant Paishwa, or a partition in equal parts of the possessions of the Paishwa family, whereof one share should be his. On the 16th of August the president acquainted the committee, that on this refusal the messenger from Nanah had

had applied to him; but this application being verbal no further notice was taken of it. Sindia, after telling Saccaram, that his age prevented his being useful, had ordered him to his house, and no more to intermeddle, and had placed a guard on him.

Hyder Ally had now taken Darwar, and was marching towards Merits in order to attack it, on which the Durbar ordered a force to oppose him. Besides this misfortune, they were embarrassed by the disobedience of particular chiefs; Nanah had sent orders to the Killidar of Amdanagur that he should deliver his fort to Sindia, the Killidar replied, he held it for Ragobah; and not only refused to surrender it, but seized three lacks of roupies which belonged to Nanah, and were returning from Aurengabad, where they had been secured for him during the late troubles.

St. Lubin had been dismissed by Nanah, but remained at Damaum, and a continual correspondence was kept up between him and Mons. Briancourt the French resident at Surat, upon their scheme of procuring troops to arrive at Choul, and thence proceed to

Poonah ; and by intercepted correspondence with Pondicherry, it appeared that Nanaah had not only required the aid of France as abovementioned, but that it was stipulated that the French should, as soon as it was practicable, move against the English, for which first service they should receive twenty lacks of roupies, and ten ships with sepoy ; and upon their attacking Bombay they should receive twenty lacks more : by one of those letters, on pretence of the war being begun, they demanded payment of the first twenty lacks.

It was now the 12th of October, when Mr. Carnac delivered a minute to the Bombay council, representing that much time had passed since the 21st of July, on which day they had resolved to assist Ragobah, the inconveniencies of a delay, and the advantages which might be taken of the present situation of the Poonah Durbar distracted by divisions, and their army not yet assembled : this was seconded by the information and opinion of Mr. Mostyn, who added, that the adherents to Morabah must conclude, if this opportunity was suffered to slip, that Ragobah was given up. He further said, as to the distance at which the detachment still was, that though it

it might have been of more material advantage if nearer; yet even in its then present situation, which was near Sindia's capital, it would be of great use by keeping him in awe, and thus facilitate their enterprize, whilst on their side, that enterprize by fixing the attention of the Durbar, would prevent the obstacles which might otherwise annoy and retard the march; and he added, that the longer the execution of the resolve was delayed, the greater the French influence, and the more effectual the preparations at Poonah would prove; on which it was resolved by the majority (Mr. Draper dissenting) that the resolution of the 21st of July for conducting Ragobah to Poonah be forthwith carried into execution; and Mr. Lewis was directed to hold himself ready to leave Poonah at a moment's warning.

On the 3d of November the resident and whole French factory at Surat were made prisoners of war by orders from Bombay. They continued some time at Surat confined to their garden, being permitted to remain there to prevent inconvenience in their private arrangements; but it was soon found that intrigues were carrying on for the delivery

very of the castle of Surat to the Mahrattas, in which they had a considerable share; they were then transferred to Bombay,

At this time news was received there that Pondicherry had, on the 18th of October, surrendered to the English, by which event the government of Madras were enabled to send a détachment to reduce the French settlement at Mahé. This reduction was soon after completed,

On the 4th of November the council, to carry their plan into execution, appointed a committee, consisting of Mr. Carnac, Colonel Egerton, and Mr. Mostyn, which was called the Poonah committee; it was to make the arrangements proper for that service, to communicate the intentions of the Board to Ragobah, and finally to settle with him the previous conditions on which the assistance was given. Colonel Egerton, who, at the time of appointment, did not suppose they were to accompany him in that capacity on the intended expedition, and therefore had approved the measure, now protested against it, as being contrary to the orders of the Directors, and as unnecessary, inasmuch as no negotiation

negotiation could take place on the road, upon which the orders of the select committee could not be had in a short time, and as the orders of the Directors were, that in the absence of the commander, the select committee should consist of the governor, and second and fourth in council, the absence of Mr. Carnac who was second, would prove a direct breach of those orders. Mr. Draper on this last ground adhered to him, but it was carried by the governor's casting vote, that two would be a sufficient select committee, and the measure passed.

Things were again retarded by a difference with Ragobah. A circular letter was prepared to be issued by him on his landing on the continent, in which, assuming no higher titles than those used by Badgerow in the treaty of 1739, he declared that his view was only to take the administration out of improper hands, and exercise the regency during the minority of the young Paishwa, in which he would conduct affairs, and continue the Sicca in the Paishwa's name. This letter being shewn to him he objected to those clauses, but afterward seemed to acquiesce, on condition the council would lend him the further sum of three
lacks

lacks of roupies, and furnish some military stores; but the letter being left with him, he made alterations therein, whereby it differed widely from the intent proposed; assuming in the title a name of dignity which belongs only to a Paishwa, and totally omitting the clauses relating to the administration and Sicca. It was resolved, that if he did not acquiesce in the form presented to him, and accede to the proposed conditions, the business should proceed no further.

After some consideration he consented to the terms proposed in the letter, withal desiring that it might be represented to the Company, that he insisted that child was supposititious, and that in case he could prove it he should be at liberty to assume the Paishwaship; if he could not, that a partition might be made of the country, and its government, agreeable to the law of the Gentoos,

Three lacks of roupies were now advanced, and 1500 muskets and five field pieces granted to him, the committee representing that as the English troops would have more than sufficient, a greater number would be an incumbrance.

The

The body ordered for the service consisted of 143 artillery, with 500 Lascars, 448 rank and file European infantry, and 2278 sepoy, making in the whole, officers included, 3900 men.

The treaty settled with Ragobah was to the effect of the abovementioned conditions; and by the last article the treaty of Surat was in every point confirmed, and the following places ascertained as the possessions of the Company :

Bassein fort and town with its districts and full dependencies : Jambofieur and Orpad, and the island of Canary ; an assignment upon the Pergunnah of Occlasier for 75,000 roupies a year : all the small places belonging to the district of Salcet, which were to be restored ; and the Pergunnahs of Ashmood and Hanfood ; regular funnuds were to be issued under the Paishwa's Sicca for the absolute free grant of all these places ; besides,

He engaged to pay for the 4000 men with which he was to be assisted, two lacks and a half of roupies a month. No European settlements were to be allowed in the
Mahratta

Mahratta dominions, without the consent of the Company or their representatives. And it was agreed that if any article of this treaty interfered with any engagements which might have been taken by the Supreme Council, it should be liable to be altered or amended.

This was settled on the 18th of November, with one condition more, in regard to the custody of the person of the child during his infancy; as he dreaded that if Morabah had that custody it would in effect give him the power of government, and thereby the scene of troubles would be renewed, it was stipulated the care of his person should be committed to Perwetty Boy, and if she should refuse to accept, or after acceptance chuse to resign it, he should be disposed of in the manner most conducive to his safety, and the honour of the contracting parties. On the 27th of November he affixed his seal to this treaty. The council advanced him another lack of roupies, so that he received in the whole four lacks.

On receiving intelligence that the ministers at Poonah were making preparations to oppose the intended march, it was resolved

to

to expedite it; and Colonel Egerton assuring that every thing was ready, the troops were ordered to march out of the island the 22d of November. In the mean time all communication with the continent was stopped, and orders were sent to Mr. Lewis to provide for his own safety.

Captain Stewart was with the first division to proceed by the way of Apta and secure Bore Gaut, and Colonel Egerton himself was with the other division, which had proceeded under the command of Colonel Cay, to seize Billapore.

On the 25th of November Captain Stewart had, without having met any opposition, taken possession of the Gaut, and the fort of Candoli, where Mr. Lewis reached him in safety; and Colonel Egerton on the 26th encamped at Panwell with the remainder of the army.

By the instructions given to the committee on their proceeding to join the army, the line was drawn between their functions and those of the commander, giving them the sole management of all matters of negotiation,

tion, the execution of the general plan of the expedition, and the determination of all points relative thereto ; but they were prohibited from intermeddling in the detail of the duty of the army, the mode of march or encampment, or of carrying any military measure into execution.

On the 15th of December the whole army with the committee had reached Campoly, where intelligence was received that a body of ministerial forces, being 10,000 horse, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and a large number of Boudays, encamped at Worgaum, three cofs on this side Tullingaum, to obstruct the march when the English should make their appearance above the Gauts, that 5000 horse were to proceed down the Curfora Gaut to cut off the communication with Panwell, and that Nanah, Saccaram, Sindia, and Furkia were encamped near Poonah with 5000 more. Their resolution was, by hovering about the army, without coming to a close engagement, to distress and wear them out. Ragobah was encamped near the English, and it was not doubted but a number of chiefs would soon appear with a force sufficient to remove all those threatened obstacles.

Though

Though it was now the 23d of December, the army had not proceeded further than Campoli. This immense delay was occasioned by the making of roads for the cannon; Mr. Carnac remonstrated against it, and proposed that they should be carried up by hand, which he argued was possible, as some artillery had already been passed that way. The commander treated this as chimerical, and they continued there, attacked now and then by some of the hovering troops, who, whenever they came near enough to be reached by the English army, were repulsed: it happened very unfortunately that in these skirmishes Colonel Cay was mortally wounded, and Captain Stewart killed. The loss of those two excellent officers was of great consequence; at the same time Mr. Mostyn's illness, which had begun soon after he left Bombay, increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to return thither, where he dyed the 1st of January: and Colonel Egerton found his state of health so bad, that it disabled him from attending either civil or military functions; in consequence he resigned the command of the army, in which Colonel Cockburn succeeded him. Major Dagon of the artillery

was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

The English force had now passed the Gauts and reached Indorain. The reality of things proved far from answering the idea of succour they had flattered themselves with at their setting out. They had expected that as soon as they should have passed the Gauts, Holcar and other chiefs of rank would have joined them with large bodies of horse, by which, if they received no other service, provisions and forage from the country round would have been secured : but no such appeared, nor any persons but a few mercenaries. Ragobah saw he had been deceived, and owned, that unless they whom he reckoned on as friends were by the speedy defeat of his enemies assured of safety, he could not reckon on their joining him. As the English and he advanced towards Poonah, the difficulty of being supplied from the Concan increased, from the greater advantage given by the nature of the country to the flying parties, and the only hope left was that when they should approach very near to Poonah, Holcar might be enabled to fulfil his promises. Other accidents concurred

to increase the defection or coldness of Ragobah's partizans. Morabah confined in Ahmednagur, had been informed that Ragobah, instead of taking proper measures for his release, had written to the Killedar of that fort, not to loose him, until he should send his orders from Poonah. This was soon spread, and whether true or false, had an effect fatal to his cause. Indeed it was plainly seen by the committee that Ragobah's aim was, by the English arms to force his way through all opposition, that so every body might be at his mercy.

The Bombay council, to facilitate supplies from the Concan, sent a detachment of a company of Europeans, three of Sepoys, two field pieces and artillery men to clear the country between Panwell and Campoli; at the same time they exhorted the new commander Colonel Cockburn, to lose no time, but proceed with vigour in his march.

Colonel Egerton, after his resignation, had set out to return to Bombay; but the roads were so occupied by the roving parties of the Mahrattas, that finding it impossible to reach Panwell, he returned to the army, where he

refused his place in the committee, but not in the command of the troops. The committee therefore now consisted of Mr. Carnac and him only. After a march of fifteen days, during which they were continually harrassed by numerous parties of horse, who, whenever they encamped came so near as to cannonade, but when attacked instantly retreated, the army reached Tullangaum, which was but eighteen miles from Poonah; the whole country was laid waste, and every thing that could not be carried off destroyed by fire. Tullangaum at their arrival was in flames; the same fate impended for Chinsura, and even Poonah. After a halt of two days at this place, where the enemy harrassed them in their wonted manner, the committee upon enquiry found there must speedily be a want of provisions, and the particular circumstances of their situation being considered by them, they determined that it was not possible for the army to proceed, but that they must retreat towards Bombay.

Upon this determination, Mr. Carnac sent for Colonel Cockburn, and informed him of it. The colonel remonstrated against it, alleging that the English troops used not
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to retreat but advance against the enemy, would be discouraged by such a measure, which as it damped their spirit, must in proportion raise that of the Mahratta troops, who would not fail to attack them during the march; that if the English by ill fortune should be at last forced to treat, they would insist on very hard terms; whereas if a treaty was to be made, it were more advantageous to endeavour at it in the present situation when they were within eighteen miles of Poonah; that if permitted to continue the march, he had no doubt of carrying the army there. But the retreat was resolved, and the order given. To have the advance of the enemy, the march was to begin at eleven o'clock that night; it was made in three divisions; the troops, which as they marched forward were the advanced guard, now became the rear; they were commanded by Captain Hartley. The main body was incumbered by a great quantity of baggage, 1200 pack bullocks, 300 carts, a buzar, an artillery park, and 1000 coolies * with officer's baggage. The enemy surrounding on all sides, amounted to more than 100,000, the English

A species of the lowest kind.

army originally not quite 4000, were somewhat diminished. Colonel Cockburn thought it proper to acquaint Ragobah with his design; by this the enemy were apprized of it, and about two in the morning the advanced guard was attacked; they had proceeded to a considerable distance from the main body, which had been retarded by dragging the baggage through very bad roads, this the enemy took a great part of. The attack was continued with vigour, but notwithstanding their reiterated charges, the advanced guard about daylight reached Worgaum, having saved most of their provision and ammunition. About four in the morning the main body was attacked on the rear and both flanks; the halt this occasioned gave the enemy the opportunity of bringing up cannon; the army then formed, and the attack became general about six. The weight of it fell on the rear guard, commanded by Captain Hartley; the conduct and courage of this gallant officer was answered by the bravery of his men. From the situation of this corps, and the distance of it from the main body, no support was given them till about twelve o'clock; during these six hours he sustained repeated charges, without being once broken. A
small

small part of the European battalion was then sent under Major Frederick, who had orders in every thing to act by the direction of Captain Hartley. The major chose when he had joined the rear, to act in a private capacity, as a volunteer. Soon after this reinforcement had arrived, the order came for the whole to retire, and about four in the afternoon all the army had effected their retreat, and got to Worgaum, having lost sixty-three artillery, sixty-two English, and two hundred and thirty-seven Sepoys.

During the halt at Tullangaum, Ragobah had for himself opened a negotiation with Sindia, and declared his intention of putting himself under his protection: he was received by him, and was at this time actually in his camp, where he was treated with respect.

The next day, the 15th, the committee had another consultation on the dismal situation of their affairs, and Colonel Cockburn being asked his opinion, notwithstanding the bravery shewn the preceding day, gave it under his hand that the troops would not stand such another attack; that from the number

ber of the enemy and their reiterated attacks, they should, through their many halts, be twenty days before they could reach Panwell, and must be totally destroyed; and he declared he could not charge himself with conducting the army to Bombay; in this opinion Colonel Egerton (though he did not set his hand to it) concurred. Upon this it was determined to try whether they could not, by treating with the Mahratta chiefs, extricate themselves from the dreadful streights to which they were reduced. As Nanah the minister, in whom the power ostensibly resided, was then in the Mahratta camp, it was thought proper to send Mr. Farmer to him, to negotiate for an undisturbed retreat of the army to Bombay. He at first was tolerably well received, and nothing more demanded than that the person of Ragobah should be delivered up: but when that was found not possible even though the English chiefs should yield to so humiliating a condition, Nanah's behaviour altered, he rose in his demands, and insisted that the English should surrender all the acquisitions they had made since the time of Mahderow; that the detachment under Colonel Goddard should be ordered to retreat to Bengal, and intimated that the English army must

must be detained where they then were, till the lands to be ceded by this treaty were delivered into the possession of the Poonah Durbar. To this severe requisition he added insult; for Mr. Farmer was left in the open Buzar without any covering but his palanqueen, or any place in which he could write his messages. These mortifying terms being come to the English camp, another consultation was held; Mr. Carnac declared that at all hazards he should prefer continuing their retreat rather than submit to such disgraceful conditions; but as the military officers had given their opinions that it was impossible to effect it, he would not take upon himself to decide on his singly. In this emergency it occurred to them, that Sindia having in some measure shewn himself favorable to the cause of Ragobah by his reception of him, might on this occasion be serviceable to them. To try this, Mr. Holmes was sent to him. On his way he was met by some of Nanah's troops, who, as they feared that this message might prove to the advantage of the senders, and the diminution of their master's credit, endeavoured to prevent his access to Sindia, first by requiring him to go to Nanah, and then detaining him till a party of
Sindia's

Sindia's troops came and dispersed them, and carried him into their master's presence; there he was received with humanity and kindness. Sindia seemed flattered with this acknowledgment of his consequence; and upon Mr. Holmes, in his return of thanks for his civility, comparing his behaviour to Nanah's in regard to Mr. Farmer, he immediately sent for him, and desired that both he and Mr. Holmes would look on themselves as his guests. They then began to treat with him on the subject of their mission, in the first place shewing a writing signed by the committee, wherein they declared they had not power to grant such terms as the Durbar in the person of Nanah had prescribed: that such a treaty would be a nullity, and that should they be compelled to sign such a convention, the ministers would be deceived if they trusted to it. This declaration was also presented to Nanah, who would hear of no diminution of what he had required; he even sent a message to Sindia desiring that he would not recede from that point of retaining the army, but moreover require particularly the surrender of the castle of Surat and Fort Victoria, and the payment of the expences of the war, before they should be released; and

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at the same time he sent orders to Furkia to take the proper measures for preventing their escape. Mr. Holmes promised Sindia, that if he would befriend the English in this matter, the council of Bombay would cede to him Broach and its Pergunnah which had been conquered by them from the Nabob of Surat. Sindia did effectually endeavour to lessen the hardship of the terms imposed, but prevailed only in regard to the release of the army. He prevented the orders given to Furkia from being executed, but lest he should displease the other Mahratta chiefs required that hostages should be given for the performance of the stipulated cession.

Hard as these conditions were, they seemed to the committee preferable to the loss of the army, which they looked on as inevitable should the Mahratta chiefs be thoroughly acquainted with the despondency of the leaders; they feared that Sindia, apprehensive of losing his influence with those chiefs, who, sensible of the advantage this occasion had given him must wonder at his neglect of it, might through that and the reiterated instances of Nanah, be prevailed on to come into and second his rigorous conditions, perhaps,
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if angered by resistance enhance them ; and relying on the effect of the express declaration so solemnly given under their hands, that they had not power to accede to such terms, and that whatever they thus were compelled to do, would be a nullity, they consented to sign a convention, whereby all that had been acquired by the Bombay council since the time of Mahderow was to be surrendered, and orders to be sent to Colonel Goddard to conduct his detachment back to Bengal : and Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart were to remain as hostages for the performance of these conditions. This done the army was permitted to retreat to Bombay, escorted by a detachment of horse : Ragobah remained under the protection of Sindia. Mr. Holmes thought it proper to be munificent in presents to Sindia's officers, but not having ready cash made his present in bills and notes payable at Bombay, amounting to 41,000 roupies.

The feelings of men now reduced to be guarded by those very troops they had been accustomed to behold flying before them, can be more easily imagined than described : by the time they reached Bombay, the joy caused by their safety had given way to indignation

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at the shame and disgrace brought on the British arms.

On the 29th of January the council met at Bombay, in which Colonel Egerton and Colonel Cockburn resumed their seats. The first thing done was reading the diary of the unfortunate expedition; after which Mr. Hornby represented that the causes of the failure of it might be matter of future consideration, that they should now proceed to determine what measures were to be taken for their safety, and retrieving their affairs. He arraigned the conduct of the leaders whilst he extolled the bravery of the army, and insisted that to keep up that gallant spirit they had shewn, it was necessary to distinguish those who had done them honour from those who had been wanting in their duty, whose example was pernicious: he mentioned some inferior officers to be tried by courts martial, at the same time he impeached the conduct of Colonel Egerton and Colonel Cockburn, and offered it as his opinion, that until their behaviour could be fully enquired into, they should decline acting in a military character; his charge was particularly in regard to the opinion Colonel Cockburn signed at Wor-
gaum,

gaum, in which Colonel Egerton had concurred. If they did not consent to what he proposed, he should move for their suspension. Colonel Egerton at first insisted on keeping his place both in the army and the council till a formal charge was delivered against him, but upon further consideration he, as well as Colonel Cockburn, acquiesced, and they declined acting in their military capacity until the opinion of the supreme council should be known.

It is not surprizing that after so disagreeable an event the actors should endeavour each to throw the blame from himself. The compass of this work will not permit descending to many particulars of this altercation, which appears at length in the minutes of the Bombay council.

Mr. Carnac blamed the slowness with which the army proceeded from Panwell, and to that attributed the greatness of that force to which they were obliged to yield; and as to the retreat, he affirmed that there was no possibility of acting otherwise as things were then circumstanced; he blamed the distance of the divisions whereby they were unable to support

support each other, and the not having ordered the second division to support the rear when attacked, which he affirmed might have been easily done; and as to the determination at Worgaum, he said that his own private opinion was against it; but that although, by his casting vote in the committee, he might have prevented it, he did not think his authority extended so far as to give orders for the march at all events; and though it had, it would have been imprudent to give it to officers who had expressed such an opinion of the troops they were to lead. That there was no alternative, no way left, but to obtain the best terms possible for the unmolested return of the army to Bombay.

Colonel Egerton justified the delay attributed to him by Mr. Carnac, from the impossibility of dragging the artillery through roads impassable till mended by the labourers; from the time necessarily consumed in getting provisions: and he positively denied that he had refused conducting the army from Worgaum to Bombay, or having concurred in Colonel Cockburn's written opinion, which he did not remember so much as to have seen till it was produced at that board.

Colonel

Colonel Cockburn laid all the miscarriage on the first error in ordering the retreat. He set forth in his justification the remonstrance he had made against it; his undertaking, if the army marched forward, to conduct it to Poonah; that the distance of the divisions was occasioned by the quantity of baggage, and the badness of the ground through which they were to march, whereby the first division, unencumbered, was enabled to advance more quickly than the others; that as soon as possible he had sent relief to Captain Hartley. He owned the opinion he had signed, and said, that it was founded on the information he had received from sepoy officers that their men and black officers were likely to desert in the night, which was confirmed by messages received from Ragobah and Mr. Sibbald; that some desertion did actually happen; that such another attack would have exhausted the ammunition; that the great difficulty of carrying three hundred sick men would have increased their embarrassments; that the army, already diminished in numbers, having so many attacks to sustain, must have totally perished ere they could have reached Panwell: these were the grounds of his opinion, notwithstanding which he would,

to the best of his ability, had Mr. Carnac, by his casting vote ordered the retreat to be continued, have led the army; that by saying he could not charge himself with the conduct of the army, he did not mean to refuse conducting it, if such an order had been given, but merely to avoid responsibility for the ill success which he foresaw; that Colonel Dagon was of the same opinion; why was he therefore accused as the cause of a measure which depended on others?

Captain Hartley was, for his service on the retreat, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel; this occasioned complaints and remonstrances from the other officers; but those things are not of a nature to be dwelt on here *.

* In the letter to the secret committee, the council of Bombay enter very fully into the reasons for the advancement of Colonel Hartley, and mention not only his conduct on the retreat, which saved the whole army, but his spirited advice when consulted at Worgaum, where he insisted, when desertion was mentioned, that he could depend on the men he commanded, that he had effectually prevented desertion from spreading in his corps; he urged every argument for continuing the retreat rather than submit to disgraceful terms. He even formed a disposition, and presented it to Colonel Cockburn for conducting it, and avoiding the inconveniencies of a night march, and the division of the troops. He hath since shewn himself worthy of his advancement.

The return of the army to Bombay was immediately followed by the arrival of a Vaqueel from the Poonah Durbar, and one separately on the part of Sindia, demanding in form the possession of the several places stipulated to be surrendered; the answer given was, that Mess. Carnac and Egerton had no authority to conclude any treaty on behalf of the Company, that this had been declared to the leaders of the Mahrattas before the paper upon which they grounded their demand was subscribed, and that the Bombay council had no authority to take any steps in consequence until they received the sentiments of the Supreme Council, to whom they would dispatch a vessel, and wait their determination. Care was taken at the same time to leave an opening for treating separately with Sindia.

On the 19th of February the Bombay council took into consideration the state of their affairs. The president Mr. Hornby laid before them a minute on that subject, in which he entered into a full detail of all facts and circumstances. He mentioned, in the first place, the attention they should have paid to Colonel Goddard's army, and informed them that it had reached Brampour
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the 29th of January: he added, that there was no danger of a Mahratta army marching against him, as they were too busy at home: that they were already sending troops to the neighbourhood of Carange and Silcet, being resolved to obtain the cession of all promised by the convention of Wargaum, which they had demanded the possession of by their Vaqueels. He represented that as it was to be expected, that Nanah would lose no time in proceeding to enforce the cession he demanded, they ought to lose no time in their preparations to resist him. He then entered into a detail of what had passed previous to that convention, lamenting the bad effects of discontinuing a march which would have been equal to a victory: he mentioned all the particulars relating to Sindia's behaviour when applied to by Mr. Holmes, as a proof of his inclination to be on good terms with the English, not only on account of the promise made to him of Broach and the share of its Pergunnah, but from political future views, which he deduced from the several incidents at the time of the convention and soon after, and from the circumstances in which all matters stood at that moment. He mentioned that Mr. Holmes during his residence in Sindia's

camp, had observed that all affairs of importance were determined by him though they were ostensibly referred to Nanah, who in virtue of his office was to affix the seal to the orders, but this was never done till Sindia had examined and passed them: that Holcar, though treated outwardly with the respect and form due to the first Subahdar of the empire, was totally at his disposal: that Sindia had acquiesced in sending hostages to Bombay in exchange for the English who remained with him, and had taken that occasion of sending a confidential person to the president: that Mr. Holmes, who was returned to Bombay was charged with the most friendly assurances from him: that Mr. Farmer, who remained with him, was treated with kindness; that he permitted no intercourse between him and Nanah; that he had the command of Nanah's and Holcar's force as well as his own. He then informed the council of what had passed between the Mahratta chiefs after the retreat of the English, and the disposition of the several departments of their government; which were,

1. The infant Madherow Narrain was to be acknowledged Paishwa.

2. Sevagi

2. Sevagi Badgerow (a son of Ragobah, born to him since the adoption of Amrut Row, and) an infant of very tender years, to be Naib, and that the exercise of his office should ~~be~~ carried on in his name by Sindia and Holcar.
3. That Ragobah should totally relinquish all claim to government, and have a jaghire and reside at Jaffi; that he should signify in writing to all the powers in India, that he accepted and agreed to this condition.
4. That Nanah and Saccaram should act as ministers, but derive their authority totally from Sindia and Holcar. These several articles were, he said, solemnly agreed to by all the chiefs,

He then mentioned instances of Sindia's disposition to a separate alliance with the English; that he was more inclined to grant Mr. Mostyn's requisitions than even Morabah; that his aversion to a French alliance was known, having formerly made advances repeatedly, and in Mr. Mostyn's absence, sent Appagee Sapagou, the very person then

in Bombay, to Mr. Lewis, who knowing that measures were already taken with Ragobah could go no further, than to make general professions of friendship; that Appagee avoided all meeting with the agent sent by Nanah, and had in charge only the particular interests of Sindia: that he never mentioned the return of the Bengal detachment; and what was very remarkable, though the order from Mess. Carnac and Egerton to Colonel Goddard for that purpose had been delivered to him to be sent, they had no account of its having been yet received *.

From these several facts he reasoned on the motives which caused them; that the principal view of Sindia must be to retain his power at Poonah; that he had to dread the jealousy of the other chiefs, necessarily fearing his power, and the use he, when fully established, might make of it in crushing them; that the Nizam and Hyder

* Mess. Carnac and Egerton wrote from Campoli the 19th of January 1779, that he was to pay no regard to their order of the 16th, because, upon recollection, they found they were not authorized to give it. This he received at Burhampore the 2d of February, and the order of the 16th of January he only received the 9th of February in his camp at Chopwah upon the Gutnuddy, by a Vaqueel belonging to the infant Paishwa.

were ready to support them against him. The influence of the Bramins, through the ascendancy of their cast, and their great wealth, was another source of uneasiness to him: that however great his power whilst he was at or near Poonah with his troops, his absence from thence would afford opportunities to those who felt the weight of it to shake it off, which dangers made his presence necessary; whilst on the other hand his private concerns suffered by his absence from his own dominions: that the King had taken occasion from it to seize some forts belonging to him; that he feared both the Nizam's and Hyder's attempts of the same kind; that he had some uneasiness also in regard to Modagee Bouncelo, whose interests crossing his, must be apprehensive of his power; that if Nanah, at liberty by this absence to exercise his talents and influence, should regain the superiority, he would, by the French alliance be enabled to keep it. From the detail of all these considerations he drew the following conclusions:

1. That the actual administration of affairs in the Mahratta empire was at Sindia's disposal;

disposal ; that Nanah was reduced to be no more than the tool of his power.

2. That Sindia was not only inclined to the English in preference to the French, but earnest for some closer connexion, and alliance with the English.
3. That the accomplishment of the terms of the convention, so far as related to the Poonah fircar, was not the object of his views, since he had in fact given the English the option whether to comply with them or not.
4. That the performance even of the private article in his favour was not the first object of his consideration ; but chiefly intended as a fund to pay from in any alliance.
5. That independently of his views to an alliance he had some motives of policy, which rendered him unwilling that the English possessions and power on that coast should be materially reduced.
6. That it was for the interest of the Company, and necessary to their purposes at this settlement, to find what Sindia's
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real intentions were, and to take measures in concert with him for the exclusion of Nanah from all power.

His reasons for his suppositions were, that all dominion but that of the sword was overthrown at Poonah; that Sindia being then in possession of it, his great object must have been to secure it, and his intention either to remove the seat of his government to Poonah, or to establish there some power subordinate to his. That the first was dangerous, and would alarm all the chiefs who aimed to continue their independence, as his great power must enable him to crush them. The Nizam and Hyder would be ever ready to support them in the southern parts of the empire, where the Bramins have great weight from the circumstances of cast, riches, and influence. In Sindia's own jaghire, the king taking advantage of his and Holcar's absence, was making some progress against them; that Modagee looked to the Rajaship; that the king and he must be considered as dangerous enemies to Sindia. As to the second, the establishment of a subordinate power that seemed more suitable to his circumstances and agreeable to his past conduct.

duct. The difficulty lay in the means: his choice of Nanah to be Duan arose from his hope of gaining credit by the moderation shewn in placing in that office a man of such abilities, and of the Bramin cast; but this choice was dangerous by the occasion his absence and Holcar's also (whose affairs called him away) furnished Nanah to assert his independence, and continue his connexions with St. Lubin; that the arrival of the assistance from France would restore his superiority, but the support of the English power on the coast was a security against even his independence; that the Bramins in general were inclined to the French; that even Morabah was so; that it was the mutual interest of both Sindia and the English to guard against Nanah and their influence; that the council was bound in honour to acquit themselves to him, his protection at Worgaum being a valuable consideration; that Rago-bah by his engagement with Sindia had relieved the Company from the care of his interests; and that all stipulations tending to be hostile to Berar were to be avoided. He, therefore, in the first place, proposed that the notes given by Mr. Holmes among Sindia's officers as Durbar charges, amount-

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ing to 41,000 roupies, should be immediately paid.

In the mean time every thing was to be prepared so as to be in readiness for service, that if Sindia should refuse their advances an army might be sent into the field toward Surat or Broach, to act in concert with the detachment; that an alliance with the Guicawars should be attempted; that such a connection was desirable from their command of the Guzerat, their aversion to the Poonah government, and their distance from the center of the empire; that the divisions which then reigned among them diminished their importance; that the connexion Futtty Sing had with Sindia should incline them to him; that an alliance with Sindia was in every respect preferable to one with Modagee Bouncello, as the claims he had upon the succession to the Rajaship tended to create embarrassments.

That as to Ragobah there could be no thought of pursuing the plan of his restoration; that circumstances differed totally from what they were in the year 1775, when service was tendered to him by Sindia, who now had
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the command of an army, the only title to the empire, that Ragobah was his pensioner, and merely a cloak to his ambition. Upon this representation it was resolved,

That the convention at Worgaum was invalid ; and that as after the express declaration to the Durbar, that the committee had not the power to accede to those terms, the public faith could not be considered as pledged ; that the general answer already given to Nana was all then necessary,

That Sindia, in consequence of his good offices, was entitled to every mark of regard, and that it was necessary to find some equivalent to the cession of the Mogul share of the Broach Pergunnah ;

That the notes given for 41,000 roupies Durbar charges should be forthwith paid ;

That there was good ground to hope Sindia is well disposed to and willing to enter into a connexion with the Company ;

That the object in this connexion must be,

1. The total exclusion of the French, and of Nanah from any share in the government at Poonah.

To preserve for the Company the territory they then held.

That it was absolutely necessary to lose no time in endeavouring at this, and to avoid any engagement hostile to the Raja of Berar; that nothing should be finally settled without the concurrence of the Governor and Supreme Council; that in consequence of these resolutions the president should write to Sindia.

Although the reflexions of Mr. Hornby were in general well founded, he was mistaken in two points: the Durbar at Poonah were not inattentive to Colonel Goddard's march; they had actually detached 20,000 of their best horse to surprize him, but his celerity in his progress from Brampour prevented their reaching him, they therefore returned without having committed any act of hostility. Nor was Sindia so well inclined to the English or naturally averse to a French alliance: though he had granted passes for the march of the detachment through his country,

country, and made no hostile opposition, he had thrown obstacles in their way, by ordering the merchants to remove from Bram-pour, whereby it became difficult for Colonel Goddard to raise money on his bills. This manner of acting was consistent with the policy that guides the princes of Indostan; whatever dissensions reign among them, they all unite in hatred of Europeans, and most of the English whom they fear: this is their natural bent. Their seeming present interest, or the views of their minister, either for their masters or their own private advantage, often predominates over that bias; by those channels only they are accessible. The president in consequence of the resolutions wrote to Sindia, but he did not meet those advances in the manner hoped for. The demands of the stipulated cessions were reiterated, the delay occasioned by writing to the Supreme Council was complained of as an evasion; effects followed these messages, a body of their troops advanced to fort Victoria, and intelligence was received of preparations for the attack of Salcet. Proper precautions taken prevented their effecting their purposes.

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The happy arrival of Colonel Goddard with his detachment at Surat, on the 25th of February, changed the face of Affairs. It is now time to revert to the proceedings of the Supreme Council and the march of that detachment; but before we enter upon that subject, it may not be amiss to enquire into the cause of the remarkable event just related: a gallant army, after a defence as glorious as a victory, reduced humbly to crave and submit to disgraceful terms, and retire, covered with shame, to the place whence they had set out, pluming themselves in full assurance of returning crowned with success, and the honour of giving a ruler to the Mahratta empire. The character of the prince whom they espoused, and the views of those who espoused him, lead to it. The true way of judging mens characters is not to decide upon the events of their lives, but upon their behaviour in consequence of these events. Those in the life of Ragobah are various, and some of them surprizing; from the beginning to end he hath been the sport of Fortune in all her inconstancy. The changes from ill to good seem to be the effect of the policy of the Mahratta chiefs, and those from prosperity to wretchedness, the effect of oscitancy,

tancy, and sudden impressions of fear precipitate in their exertion. Naturally bold and brave he formed schemes of greatness, and entered upon them with spirit ; but looking to one object only, he saw not the obstacles that lay in his way, or the thorns that might render his passage difficult, yet he was prone to suspicion, which, when once admitted, totally absorbed every idea but that of the danger it pointed out, and hurried him to decide merely on that idea, without examining whether it was well founded or groundless. At the same time as prone to trust those to whom he applied in such emergencies without knowing whether they were well or ill inclined to him : he had talents of generalship which he exerted with success ; his errors in forming his designs seem to have arisen from an over-weening impatience which prevented his examination of the probability that the promises of his friends, and the warmth of his expectation, would be answered ; this made him venture rashly, and urge with impetuosity those on whom he could really depend, not considering that if by yielding to that rashness their strength was broken, he lost his only support ; that impetuosity made him suppose his wish completed when the first

first step towards it was scarcely taken, and forget that he owed attentions to those who had already favoured or might in future favour his cause, and act as if he was really seated in the fullness of power, and no more wanted their assistance, or feared their enmity; he saw not the true reason of his so readily meeting support in his ill fortune, that the princes who then espoused his cause did it not from any persuasion of the justice of it, or any affection to his person, but merely from policy, their independence being preserved by the continuation of the dissensions which the Mahratta empire; during which they could not be called to account for their tribute, as the side they befriended would not, and that they opposed, could not enforce payment of it: this system accounts for the general run of the acts of the Mahratta chiefs. This it was which raised him armies in his former distresses, and influenced Sindia to receive him when the English army retreated from Tullinghaum, and to soften the rigour of Nana's requisition at Worgaum; he had no reason to fear their prosperity, and knew, by experience, that a complete settlement of the empire, under the Duanship of Nana, and ministry of the Bra-

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mins, would extinguish his influence, and that as soon as they found themselves established in their posts, and strengthened in credit by an increase of territory, they would demand and enforce the payment of the arrears of tribute : this must have been the first thought that struck him on the application of Mr. Holmes, the sending his vauquel to Bombay, with particular instructions on his separate interest, plainly proves it : he meant to have Ragobah under his protection, or rather in his custody, that he might upon occasion make a proper use of that circumstance.

Unfortunately the impatience of Ragobah was communicated to the greatest part of the Bombay council ; like him, too easily trusting to outward appearance, they imagined themselves at Poonah from the moment the ministry quarrelled ; the many tergiversations and uncertainties which reigned in that Durbar did not open their eyes. Upon the first prospect of success attending Ragobah's party, or rather those who used his name to compass their ends in depriving their enemies of the power they aimed to assume, they abandoned themselves to the flattering scene of importance

importance and credit accruing to them from settling and giving a chief to an empire, and feared nothing but the diminution of glory which they might suffer from other persons having a share in the enterprize. This must have been the motive of their forbidding the advance of the Bengal detachment by their first orders, as well that of their hurry in planning and in executing the accompaniment of Ragobah and reinstating him in the regency, although they knew that by the confinement of Morabah, Butchaba and their adherents, and the small degree of power Holcar had, the principal force on which they had reckoned would be wanting.

Their impatience exceeded that of Ragobah ; to prevent delay by his objections to the treaty, they increased the sums advanced to him ; the march of the detachment and its daily progress was known to them, they might have calculated the distance which each day diminished, and by a settled correspondence with Colonel Goddard, have carried on their plan so that he might have co-operated with them ; with this precaution success was certain, but then the honour of that success must have been attributed to his

skill in the execution, and the wisdom of the Supreme council in sending that detachment to their assistance: this was a measure from the beginning disagreeable to them, they were angered by the first interposition of that council which produced the treaty of Poonader, and that resentment was kept up by the exercise of the superiority given by the act of parliament; this appears through their minutes of council, and those sentiments helped to strengthen the others*.

The ill-timed order given by Ragobah for the continuation of Morabah's confinement was another fatal step; the act itself might be called ingratitude to the man who first stirred in his favour, when he seemed forgotten and excluded for ever from all chance

* In justice to Mr. Draper, one of the members of the Bombay council, it must not be omitted that he dissented not only from the first resolution to forbid the advance of the detachment, but also from that of the 12th of October 1778, for conducting Ragobah to Poonah with an armed force; he grounded this dissention on, 1st. Their departure from the conditions prescribed by the supreme council, "That their plan should not interfere with any engagement formed with Modagee; that by advice from Europe, they should be assured that the force they sent could be spared without danger, that their engagements with Ragobah or Morabah should not be hostile to the
" Rajah

chance of a return to power; and it shewed a disposition of mind which made not only Morabah's friends averse to him, but struck the other Indian chiefs as an indication of his design to govern with the same strictness he had before done, when his title in the minority of his nephews to the regency, and after the death of Naron to the Paishwaship was undisputed: this would have totally put an end to their scheme of independence, the maintenance of which is the most desirable thing for the inhabitants of the districts respectively bordering on the Mahratta dominions, and the particular interest of the English government in that region. The situation of the countries of these princes shews the probability of success in a system

"Rajah of Berar."—2d. Morabah and Butchaba being still under restraint.—3d. The distance of the detachment being yet too great.—4th. There being a great deficiency in the European force from the establishment ordered by the company,—he added, that although he was convinced of the necessity of removing Nanah, and reinstating Rago-bah in the regency, it appeared to him that it might be effected with more propriety and greater probability of success, in about two months, as by that time they might hope the restrictions, with respect to the Berar negotiation, might be removed, and the detachment might arrive at the destination ordered in July (in the neighbourhood of Poonah) and the company's ships and the squadron might be with them.

formed for that purpose. Separate treaties with each would strengthen and enable them to resist the force of the Poonah Durbar, which they would not fail to do when they found themselves supported by English arms.

The proceedings of the council of Bombay have been related without the interference of other matters, that by an uninterrupted narration they might appear clearly : it will be necessary to resume those of the Supreme Council, and the acts in consequence, particularly the march of the detachment commanded by Colonel Leslie through the heart of Indostan ; a measure of high importance, the effect of schemes long revolved in the mind of its author, bold in its conception, and continued with perseverance from the conviction of its utility : the events finally produced by it must decide whether rash and precipitate, or political and truly calculated for the good of the company, as well as for the same attendant on so high an enterprize.

This measure had not passed in council without great debate. From its novelty,
the

(the usual manner of sending troops having been by sea) the general ignorance of the country to be passed over, and of the relations and interests of its princes and chiefs, the apparent danger from the heat of the climate, the delay which must be occasioned by the rains, the inconvenience and difficulties which might arise from want of provisions and assistance from the powers of the country or perhaps from their opposition, it was looked on as impracticable; but for the reasons above related the council determined it not only practicable but expedient. The necessary precautions were taken with the princes of the countries through which the detachment was to pass by apprizing them of the design of its march, and its pacific dispositions to them, and requesting their assistance in furnishing provisions: particularly letters were written to the Paishwa and his ministry fully mentioning these matters, and Mr. Mostyn was instructed to assure them of the council's resolution to abide by the treaty of Porounder, to explain the necessity of protecting the settlement of Bombay from foreign invasion, and to desire they would give orders to their chiefs dependent on the Paishwa not to molest the army in their march, but to supply them

them with what assistance they might stand in need of.

On the 23d of February 1778, resolutions having passed in council for the appointment of Colonel Leslie to this command, orders were issued in consequence for the troops to assemble on the western frontier of the province of Owde, either at Corah or in the neighbourhood of Culpee, as the commanding officer might chuse.

Each sepoy battalion consisted of seven hundred men, rank and file, one captain, ten subalterns Europeans, with the usual number of native officers ; and two pieces of artillery, six pounders, were attached to each battalion,

The regiment of cavalry consisted of five hundred natives, commanded by Captain Wray ; the body of horse from the province of Owde was composed of natives of the province of Candahar, and was of the same strength : this corps had been in the service of the late Sujah Dowlah Nabob of that province, and was continued by his son. It was commanded by a very gallant officer, who was also a native of Candahar.

The

The artillery consisted of four light twelve pounders, and two howitzers, besides the two six pounders above-mentioned attached to each battalion of sepoys : it was commanded by Major Bailie, one captain, and four subalterns, and a company of natives were appointed for the service of the whole.

Lieutenant Colonel Fortman was field engineer, with an assistant, a quarter-master-general and deputy ; and all the other officers belonging to the staff, and persons necessary to be employed in the several departments of stores and provisions were named and chosen by the commander ; to whom likewise unlimited authority was given to order such stores, and in such quantities, as he might deem necessary for that service.

On the 12th of April, the first division of the troops arrived at their rendezvous at Corah, where the whole were assembled on the 25th, when Colonel Leslie joined. From the 5th of May to the 18th, the troops were filing off by detachments, with their baggage and stores, to a pass on the banks of the Jumna, opposite Culpee. The distance between Corah and Culpee is about forty miles ; that
river

river forms the western boundary of the dominions of the Nabob of Owde.

The town and fort of Culpee, which stand on the other side of the river, are the eastern boundary, of a small district, bordering on the Bettwah Nullah*, on the other side of which lies the Boondelchund country, beginning at Jallapoor. This district was possessed by Gungadur Punt, the commander of the Mahratta force in that part of Indostan: he had received orders from Nanah to use all his endeavours to prevent the progress of the English march. He had with him his brother Ballagee, whose dominions were further to the west, and through which the route of the detachment lay. This man had great power and influence over his brother, and through the whole country, his cunning was great, and he laid the scheme of obstructing us by every way preferably to arms, and to have recourse to those when his deception failed of success: in consequence vauqueels were sent from both these chiefs to Colonel Leslie with assurances of their masters consent and concurrence

* Nullah is a cut from a river by which grounds are watered.

currence to the march of the detachment, with the promise of a plentiful supply of provisions through their country, and Ballagee advised him to go to the Nebuddah by the way of Mow, and offered himself to be his conductor. Colonel Leslie not yielding to these specious appearances, determined to proceed warily, for their vaqueels were not impowered to conclude any treaty, or even to treat, therefore every thing was vague and suspicious. The governor of the fort of Culpee by his behaviour shewed how necessary caution was, and how little declarations were to be relied on. Application had been made to him for the aid of his boats in passing the river; this he not only refused, but as the workmen were employed in repairing those which had been collected, a party detached from the fort began to fire on them; this was returned by the covering party, which with a few rounds from two pieces of artillery, obliged them to retire.

Colonel Leslie sending for the vaqueels, who were still in camp, represented to them the treachery of such conduct, and at the same time informed them of his intentions to cross the river next day; the vaqueels
made

made excuses, begged for another day's delay, and proposed that he should cross two and thirty miles higher up the river; Colonel Leslie rejected this proposal, adding his reasons, with which they seemed perfectly satisfied, and desired leave to go and inform their masters, promising to return in the evening with an answer, which not being performed, gave cause to suspect that some opposition would be made to the passage of the river.

The next morning, the 19th of May, at dawn of day, three battalions of sepoys the first, fourth, and seventh, with their artillery arrived at the pass. The first division crossed the river, and immediately formed; Colonel Goddard who commanded, seeing some troops assembling in his front, sent a message to their chief, desiring to pass unmolested; the answer was, that they should come on: yet some small bodies of cavalry began to fire at a distance on those troops that were crossing and forming. This was endured, until some were wounded; batteries which had been placed to cover the landing of the troops were then opened, which very soon dispersed the enemy. That part of the
troops

troops which had now passed were ordered to advance towards the village of Culpee, which was about a mile distant, and Major Fullerton, with the grenadiers, to prevent any surprize, was directed to make a movement to the left, but rather on their rear, both parties directing their march towards the village, where they were to unite. From the place whence the grenadiers had made their movement, the ground they had to pass through was broken and uneven, with high banks and ravins, and the road so intricate, that, after marching some time, they found themselves at a greater distance from the village than when they first moved; they were then very briskly attacked by a body of about twelve hundred Mahratta horse. The men behaved with great spirit and coolness, in particular the grenadiers of the fourth battalion. They began however to be pressed when the other part of that battalion with its artillery, supported by the seventh, came from the village to their assistance, and soon decided the contest. The enemy retreated with the greatest precipitation to a fort about six miles distant, where they had sent their effects, and the troops were too much fatigued to pursue. A few grenadier sepoy were wounded;

wounded; the loss of the enemy was much more considerable, and quiet possession was taken of the fort and village of Culpee, which they had evacuated.

This first act of hostility was followed by another yaqueel from the two chiefs, disavowing all knowledge of what had passed, promising to punish the offenders, and soliciting friendship. Colonel Leslie desirous of adhering to the spirit of his instructions, accepted their excuses, proposed terms of agreement, and while these were adjusting, the remainder of the detachment, with the artillery, baggage, and stores, crossed the river. The terms of the agreement were, that the troops should have an unmolested passage, that they should be supplied with provisions and necessaries at a proper price, and that the fort of Culpee should be kept by an English guard, as a security for the performance of the agreement. The possession of it to be returned when the detachment had reached Chatterpore.

At this juncture a letter was received from the president and council of Bombay, with directions for the detachment to halt until further

Further orders, without mentioning any reason for so unexpected a measure : advices of this, with an account of the agreement, followed those of the skirmish which had been communicated by Colonel Leslie to the Supreme Council. He informed them at the same time, that as the ground about Culpee would not admit of an encampment, without great inconvenience, he would move about twenty miles further to the banks of the Betwah Nullah, a good situation, on the frontiers of the Boondelchund country, where he would wait their further directions.

The Supreme Council had in the beginning of May received letters from Bombay and Poonah, relating the revolutions in that Durbar, when Morabah and the other chiefs had in all likelihood overturned Nanah and Sacaram, and become the masters of that government, and afterwards had come to an agreement with them as before related. The Bombay council in their letters lamented that they should have so little share in the restoration of Ragobah, and that it should appear it could be effected without their assistance. These letters gave occasion to debates : a conclusion was drawn from them, that the re-establishment

establishment of Ragobah was actually effected, which event must totally defeat any schemes the French might have formed, and put an end to the negotiations of Nanah with them, whereby the further progress of the detachment became unnecessary. It was therefore proposed, that orders should be sent to Colonel Leslie to suspend his march, or if he had proceeded in it, to return to Culpee. But upon consideration that it did not from those letters appear that the affairs of the company in that part of India were in such security as not to require aid, but on the contrary that the connexions of the French with the Mahratta Durbar were yet subsisting, St. Lubin still residing at Poonah, and the vessel which brought him into that country, and had been freighted for China accompanying General Belcombe instead of pursuing that voyage, being a strong proof that he had entered into the design, and probably had gone himself to conduct or forward the negotiation; nor did the revolution appear certain, and if it was completed without the aid of the Bombay council, the settlement could not be permanent; Ragobah could never trust his person to his new partisans, formerly his enemies and betrayers;

betrayers; nor could he rest satisfied by the compromise made with Nanah who by his connexion with Hurry Furkia, the commander of the forces, must have an irresistible sway, he therefore would trust no friend but the Bombay council, who had ever been zealous in his cause; nor would he venture to Poonah without the assistance of an English military force, which to obtain, he must grant their conditions: It was proper that they should have it in their power to act so conspicuous a part and to keep up to it. The reinforcement would give that power, and the very idea of it might already have had some effect in the transactions at Poonah; in such a crisis, to recall the detachment would alarm friends and encourage enemies: upon the whole, if the service of it should not be wanted, nothing would have been lost by its not having marched, and it might be easily recalled; but if once withdrawn, and its aid afterwards should be required, it would be too late to afford it. The expectation of Indostan demanded the prosecution of this measure. On these considerations it was determined the detachment should proceed.

Colonel Leslie's letter of the 20th of May, giving an account of his passage, and the skirmishes he had sustained, occasioned fresh debates in the council. From the opposition of the two chiefs at Culpee it was concluded that the whole march would be thus interrupted, and that, in prudence, the army should proceed no further, at least till the rains were over, as its safety (on which that of Bengal depended) was hazarded by such a march from one side of India to the other in so unfavourable a season, and in the face of an enemy determined to oppose it, who, without ever coming to an engagement, might distress, harass, and ruin them. It was on the other hand considered that the districts which depended on the chiefs who had committed hostilities, extended but a short distance from Culpee, that one week would bring them to Boondelchund, whose chief was not subject to the Mahratta empire; the route thence was through Bapaul, whose chief, a Patan, though he paid the Chout, owned no dependance on Poonah; that the rest of the way lay through the dominions of Modagee, whose power was great, and friendship certain. As to rains, experience had shewn that the weather being cooled by them

them is more favourable, and besides during that season they would be less exposed to attacks of cavalry. It was determined to write to Colonel Leslie, approving his conduct, warning him to beware of treachery, and not to be induced by any fair appearance to relax in the conduct he had proposed towards the chiefs of the countries he was to pass through; and directing that he should give notice to Mr. Mostyn, the resident at Poonah, of his proceedings, and all such occurrences as might require explanation to that Durbar, or the interposition of their authority to prevent future interruptions to his march. At the same time letters were written to the Pashwa, giving a detail of what had happened at the passage of Jumna, declaring a belief that these hostilities were not committed by any authority from him or his ministers, as they could not have arisen from those who were on terms of friendship with the English; that the necessity of self-defence had occasioned the sending the detachment, but the most regular discipline and friendly conduct had been recommended to the commander; and it was requested that such injunctions might be issued to the officers of that government as would

in future prevent effectually any thing of the like nature. Mr. Mostyn was apprized of these letters, and directed to act in consequence, and regularly to correspond with Colonel Leslie.

The advice of the order to stopping the march of the detachment, by the Bombay council, was about the same time received from Colonel Leslie and that presidency. The other part of their letter gave an account of the continuation of the uncertainty in the Poonah Durbar, and the imperfect state of Ragobah's affairs there; that General Belcombe had returned to Pondicherry; that the ship Sartine had landed military stores, which were for the service of Hyder Ally; and that the French were deterred from proceeding to Choul by the appearance of the English squadron. These advices were a ground for a motion in the Supreme Council, that the detachment should be recalled to the Bengal side of the Jumna, for to stay in an enemies country exposed the army to dangers productive of hostilities, which might bring on a general war, and if they remained in Boondelchund, that country must be ruined. It was insisted that the principal reason hitherto

thereto alledged for this measure, which was the effect of French negotiation with the Mahrattas was vanished; for General Belcombe having sent a ship with warlike stores to Hyder Ally, who was actually at war with the Mahrattas, how could French intrigue, if it ever had existed, have any effect? On the other hand it was argued, that being but thirty or forty kofs from the borders of Owde, the army was equally safe and ready either for defence or attack; and that upon considering the whole context of that part of the Bombay letter which related to General Belcombe, it was evident that the French were deterred from proceeding to Choul, by the appearance of our squadron. That Mr. Mostyn's letter mentioned St. Lubin being still at Poonah, favoured with the same countenance, notwithstanding Mr. Mostyn's remonstrance. It was therefore plain that the same cause existed, and there was the same danger from its consequence. On these reasons Colonel Leslie's intention of moving to the Betwah river for his encampment was approved, and he was prohibited from moving further until he should receive orders to that effect. The council directed the officer commanding

at Culpee to retain the possession of it until further orders.

Terms of agreement having been finally adjusted between Colonel Leslie, and the two chiefs, orders were given for the march of the first division, consisting of the first, fourth, and seventh battalions of sepoys, who set out at two o'clock in the morning, on the 2d of June, from Culpee. For the first five miles the march was much impeded by the narrowness of the road, and the very uneven broken ground of the country, the face of which exhibited a most singular appearance, being thickly interspersed with hillocks of conckar, in which neither shrub, or blade of grass was to be seen. In the language of the country conckar literally translated means cinder. The matter of which these hillocks were composed, seemed rather of that kind which we term scoria, something like what is thrown out of furnaces in which iron ore is smelted; the difficulties arising from the nature of ground, were increased by the extreme heat of the weather, and a want of water. At seven in the morning they came to a well, which was unfortunately filled up; at nine, two villages a little way to the right and left on the

the line of march, gave hopes of relief, but the quantity that could be got from thence was so small, and the eagerness of the troops so great, that it proved of little benefit. At a quarter after eleven they at length reached the village of Murgong, where they found a supply from seven or eight wells, which had not been filled up. The distance from Culpee to that place was not more than sixteen miles. It is to be feared that these difficulties proceeded from want of attention, and not having taken even common precautions to prevent them. Fortunately this error did not prove so fatal as it was at first feared; only twenty sepoy, and about as many of the followers of the army, sunk under the fatigue; a number of European officers sickened, but all recovered, Captain Crawford excepted, who commanded the fourth battalion of sepoy, whose loss was great, and universally lamented.

On the 5th of June Colonel Leslie received letters from Bombay, countermanding the orders before given by them for the halt of the detachment, these were dated the 4th of May; in consequence he resumed his march after a few days rest.

The notice of this countermand was announced at Calcutta at the same time that the relation of the march from Culpee was received from the army; this had been preceded by private letters, which represented the evils attending it, beyond the reality; these gave a gloom to the appearance of things, which was heightened to despondency by the news of the misfortune of the British arms at Saratoga; a proposal was made in council to recall the detachment, but it was not pressed, and the measure continued. A caution was given to Colonel Leslie to avoid the route through Malva, where lay the country of Sindia, whose sincerity there was room to doubt of, and to proceed directly through Berar, unless Modagee should refuse, which was most unlikely; on the contrary, there was reason even to certainty to rely on a friendly reception from him, and besides in in case of a necessity of recalling the detachment, they would, in that country be within the reach of orders. Soon after, upon the news of war commenced with France, orders were sent not to pass beyond that province till further instructions should be received from the Supreme Council.

On the 8th of June the first division of the detachment marched to Jetalpoor, where the whole joined on the 15th. This is a well-built town, it is situated on the south-west bank of the Betwah Nullah, a pleasing river, whose water, perfectly clear, runs over a bed of gravel, the depth about two feet only, though the banks are remarkably high. It takes its rise from a lake called Saugree, and after a course of about one hundred and sixty miles, empties itself into the Jumna, near Bibbipour; the country through which the army passed, was open, and the roads good, but no trees were seen in it. On the 16th, the whole army marched towards Chatterpoore.

Notwithstanding the agreement entered into between Colonel Leslie and the two chiefs, before the march from Culpee, he had cause to suspect duplicity; a backwardness to fulfill the terms appeared in their whole conduct, and subsequent events shewed that the offers made by Ballagee were meant to deceive. The principal Rajah of Boondelchund was Amroud Sing, who was of the age of fifteen, and had upon the death of his father, about six years before, been by the

the contrivance of the ministers of that prince advanced to the succession which they wrested from his elder brother Sunret Sing, as well as all the treasure. This junto now governed that country, with them Ballagee had great interest, and he exerted all his influence to the prejudice of the English, representing them as attached to Sunret, and having a design to place him in the Rajaship. Sunret had not lain quiet; he had a considerable number of men in his service, and had made several efforts to recover his right, which to that time had been unsuccessful.

On the 22d, the detachment had advanced to Rheat, twenty-four miles distant from Jetalpoor. Though Colonel Leslie had not met with any obstruction, his suspicion of the intentions of the Boondelchund chiefs obliged him to move with great caution, besides which the intenseness of the heat occasioned some slowness. About the 20th of June, on the east side of the Belah, the thermometer rose to 102 degrees, and on the west side to 107 and a half: and from the middle of May it was not ever lower than 88 degrees. This made the nights very disagreeable,

agreeable, as the usual remedy of wetting the outside of the tent could not at that time be used *.

Colonel Leslie had now received letters from Mr. Mostyn, who then was at Poonah, inclosing passports, and orders for assistance from Holcar and Sindia in his march through their respective territories ; but he had also received advices of a force being collected between Chatterpoore and Poonah on the banks of the river Cane, where they had taken post under the command of their several chiefs Ballagee, Amroud Sing, and others, but with what intention was not known.

The troops moved from Rheat on the 24th, and the 27th reached Seerenagur, forty-four miles distant, a well-built fort of stone, situated on a commanding height. They made halt here till the 1st of July, when they moved to Mulherra six miles from

* These heats are during the reign of the land winds. A diminution of them is obtained by keeping the outside of the tent continually wet. Liquors are cooled by wrapping a wet napkin round the bottle ; and hanging it in the wind : it is remarkable that when the cooling winds blow this method hath not the same effect.

Chatter-

Chatterpoore. Here a messenger came from Amroud Sing with offers to supply provisions, if the detachment would take the route he should direct, which was towards the same parts of the country as had been recommended by Ballagee, and he concluded by saying, they must not pass through Chatterpoore. The troops halted one day, to give time for an answer to this message, which consisted in repeated declarations of peaceable intentions, and of the attention that should be had to the safety and protection of the inhabitants, but that the troops could march by no other road than Chatterpoore.

On the 3d the army marched to Chatterpoore, and encamped southward of the town, between two hills, having that town in the rear, the town of Mow three coss to the westward, and Rajah Gur about seven to the eastward. The place was found abandoned by all but very few inhabitants, some of whom were merchants. Three heavy contributions had been laid, and partly collected from the people, for the purpose of opposing the march; and that the English should not procure any aid there, several of the richest merchants had been sent in irons to

to Rajah Gur, and all were ordered to quit the place on pain of the most severe military execution.

This hostile appearance confirmed the intelligence Colonel Leslie received of the disposition of the troops in that district under their several leaders; a party of 700 cavalry, 2000 infantry, with nine pieces of artillery were posted at Mow, under the command of Hamet Cawn, who was joined by Gudd Sing with his force, and was with the utmost diligence repairing and adding to the fortifications of that place; on the road to Rajah Gur, about six miles on this side, they had an advanced guard, and had made a fence across the road for their security; these were supported by a party of a thousand horse, and as many foot, posted near the fort of Rajah Gur on the west side of it, under the command of three chiefs; between Rajah Gur and the river Cane Ballagee was stationed with another body of cavalry and infantry; and on the other side of the river, at the bottom of the hills opposite to a pass four miles from the river, and six from Pennah, Rajah Amroud Sing had taken post with 500 cavalry, 4000 infantry, and
twenty

twenty pieces of cannon; orders had been sent to the villages round, forbidding the inhabitants to supply the convoy with provisions on pain of death; the few remaining merchants were ordered to sell off their effects, and remit the money to the Rajah, and then to leave the town immediately. In this situation, on the fourth of July, answers were received from Ballagee and Amrout Sing; that from Amrout plainly appeared dictated by the former, and meant only to gain time and amuse till every thing was ready for an effectual opposition: as for his own it threw off the mask; in a stile of contempt and indifference, he wrote that the détachment might march what road it pleased; at the same time he declared to his officers, that he had written so, but that he would die on the spot rather than suffer it to pass by Sagur, which was the only road now left, unless they retreated and took the route by Jansy, which would have favoured the designs of the two Rajahs, and for that purpose had been recommended by Amrout in the last letter sent by him.

At this juncture two Rajahs of Boondelchund, Gomman Sing and Comman Sing, sent

sent their Vaqueels to Colonel Leslie: they had formerly been dispossessed of some of their territory by the family of Gudd Sing. Ballagee had summoned them to meet him, in consideration of which he promised a restoration of this territory, but being tardy in the execution of this promise, they withheld their aid, and now solicited alliance to gain the English protection, offering plenty of grain which the villages around abounded with, and desired safeguard: Rajah Sunret Sing brother of Amroud made the like offers of supplying provisions, and with the same request of safeguards; and this chief's Vaqueel having pressed that his master should join the English army, Colonel Leslie, that he might by that means not only have an increase of assistance, but to secure Goman and Comman Sing who were very much attached to him, wrote to him desiring him to join, and safeguards were sent to several villages belonging to those Rajahs; but they were immediately driven away by a party from the garrison of Mow, who, not contented with this insult, drove off three hundred bullocks loaded with grain for the camp, some of the baggage camels, and wounded many of the servants and followers of

of the army. The Candaharian cavalry were immediately detached, and came up in time to rescue the greatest part of the plunder taken.

It was now plain why Ballagee had recommended the march through Mow, and that the scheme was laid to pursue every means of annoying the detachment, and that all the moderation hitherto shewn was without success; notwithstanding which, and these repeated acts of violence, to avoid the imputation of having begun hostilities, Colonel Leslie determined to wait for an answer to his last representations before he began to act. But intelligence was now brought to him, that some parties had got into his rear, on the road he had marched, with an intention of cutting off his communication with Culpee. This was too soon verified, by advices received that Captain Monro, coming up with a small party to join the camp, had been attacked, and after making as gallant a resistance as possible, had been grievously wounded, most of his party killed, all his own, and some baggage belonging to the army, plundered and taken. The Candaharian horse, and four companies of sepoy,

sepoys, with a surgeon, were immediately detached in hopes of being in time to save him, but in vain. He had been left for dead in the field; but a Bramin seeing some remains of life in him, had given him refuge in a little fort near the place of action, where he remained for two days; at the end of which some of these barbarians returned, forced him from the Bramin, and in cold blood butchered him in an adjoining wood. His servant, who had escaped, brought this melancholy account of his master's fate to this detachment which he met on the road, and which now returned to camp. While they related this catastrophe, advice was brought that a party from Mow had driven off all the cattle for carriage belonging to the army that were grazing at some distance. The picquets of the line, and all the cavalry, were sent in pursuit; they soon came up with the plunderers, and recovered the cattle.

Colonel Leslie, finding how unavailing all his representations had proved for redress of outrages, determined to repel them by force, and to dislodge the party under Hamet Cawn from Mow. Colonel Goddard was appointed for this service, with the fifth,

sixth, and seventh battalion of sepoys, their artillery, and two twelve pounders. The regiment of cavalry under the command of Captain Ash marched in the rear, and the Candaharian horse were divided in front and on the flanks, at half a mile's distance, to reconnoitre the country, and prevent the enemy from receiving any intelligence of the party's approach. The road was found much broken up, and worse than had been reported: this, with a heavy fall of rain, somewhat retarded the march, insomuch that daylight appeared when the troops were yet a mile distant from the place.

Lieutenant Colonel Parker, who led the line, directed Lieutenant Lucas to take possession of a mosque on the right, which was immediately executed, under the fire of the enemy. From this place they had a full view of the town, which stood upon very irregular ground ascending and descending; it was walled round and encompassed by a rampart and breast-work, in these there were breaches, and one particularly through which ran the road. The rampart was commanded by high ground behind, being within reach of musketry: on these hills the enemy had
posted

posted troops, and on a hill opposite the breach, through which the road ran, there was a piece of artillery.

A large tank of water lay on the right of that breach, and extended along the side of the road; this, together with hills on the left, formed the pass which led to the entrance of the town: the difficulty of the approach through this was increased by hills in front.

Colonel Goddard with the advanced guard marched up the road to attack the breach, which he entered under a heavy fire, and particularly from the piece of artillery opposite to it, which was very well served. One of the tumbrils happening to stick in the breach, some of the troops perceiving another opening towards the left, which led to a hill on that side, filed off, and gained the hill after some resistance; the other part of the troops were obliged, by the tumbril sticking yet in the way, to get through the breach by the Indian file *: three companies of the seventh were ordered to attack the heights; the re-

* Man by man singly.

mainder of the troops, as they arrived, forming and supporting them; after much difficulty from a sharp resistance, and the nature of the ground, which often obliged them to crawl on hands and feet, they succeeded, having driven off those who were posted there; by this the access to the town was free.

Before this could be effected, Colonel Goddard had pushed on to second the attack, by forcing the pass, where he sustained a very heavy fire, and had his horse shot under him in two places: however he forced his way through the town in pursuit of the flying enemy; he had not advanced five hundred yards, when another range of hills presented themselves, on which the enemy appeared with some cannon. They were soon dislodged and fled over the plain. The Candaharian cavalry had unluckily lost their way and were not of any service in the pursuit, which fell to the share of the regiment of cavalry, and would have been more effectual had the others come up. On the side of the English the loss was inconsiderable, being only about six sepoy killed and nineteen wounded; the enemy suffered

suffered very considerably. Colonel Goddard took possession of the place with nine pieces of cannon, with some tumbrils, stores, and ammunition : the troops behaved with great spirit and resolution. This blow had the most fortunate effect. Ballagee, Amroud Sing, and the other chiefs called in all their parties, crossed the river Cane, and took post with their whole force collected on the other side, nearly opposite to Rajah Gur. By this retreat the country round Chatterpoore remained undisturbed, and the camp was plentifully supplied with provisions*. Deser-

* The return of the troops composing the detachment, with their servants and followers, sent by Colonel Leslie from Chatterpoore.

	Commis. Officers.	Troops.	Servants and followers.	Total.
Cavalry 1st regiment	8	526	1932	2466
Artillery 8th company	10	634	3200	3844
Infantry 6 battalions	70	4964	10876	15910
Head quarters and } brigade staff }	15		1563	1578
Nabob cavalry		500	1700	2200
With the field engineer			508	508
Grand total	103	6624	19779	26506

. The Bazaars or markets, with their necessary attendants for procuring the supplies of provisions, are not included in this; they are estimated at 12,000.

As there hath been no want of provision during the whole march, the nature of the country may be judged of from this return, as well as that of an Indian army.

tions, which happened about this time, made an example of severity necessary: the execution of one sepoy only prevented the evil from increasing. Shortly after the fourth and sixth battalions of sepoys demanded in an irregular manner, an increase of allowance, on account as they pretended of the high price of provisions: those who appeared most forward were immediately confined; the battalions were ordered under arms, and on the representations of Colonel Goddard, who was sent to them, all appearance of discontent ceased; and after making proper submission for the irregularity of their application, they remained perfectly satisfied to wait the decision of the Supreme Council, before whom their claims were to be laid. The answer from them was a peremptory spirited refusal, which had all the effect that could be desired, as the demand was never after renewed.

The army had now remained inactive and undisturbed since the 10th of July; during that period nothing material appears to have occurred; the letters from Colonel Leslie to Calcutta contain only a detail of negotiations with Amroud Sing, begun,

broken off, and renewed, and a mention of some obstructions to his march, from the rains and the swelling of the rivers and Nullahs thereby, without any other reason given for this delay.

On the 12th of August, the Rajahs Gommon and Comman Sing, who had so early offered their service, withdrew from the camp with their forces during the night, without having given any previous notice of their intentions. This sudden defection was soon found to be owing to the intrigues of Amroud Sing; letters which the elder brother Sunret Sing had intercepted and communicated to Colonel Leslie discovered this: he thereupon determined to march towards Rajah Gur, proposing there to cross the river, and force Amroud Sing either to come to an engagement, or retire. Orders were given for the artillery taken at Mow to be destroyed, and for the detachment left there to join the army, which was effected on the 14th.

This long halt at Chatterpoore was unaccountable, Colonel Leslie had been repeatedly warned by the Supreme Council against taking part in the quarrels which the princes

or chiefs of those countries through which he was to pass might have in their families, and therefore ought not to have been detained by any proposal made by Sunret Sing, or other chiefs to obtain his assistance against Amroud Sing: yet this seems to have been the only object in his view during that period. The supposition most favourable to him was, that after the unprovoked enmity shewn by Amroud it might seem politic to encourage the offer of friendship of a competitor, which step, by intimidating the Rajah, might change his measures, and insure supplies of provision. If his motive went further he was guilty of positive disobedience: in this uncertainty the Supreme Council suspended their decision upon this part of his conduct, so little answering their expectations,

On the 15th of August the army began their march towards Rajah Gur, which they reached on the 17th, the distance is about twenty miles from Chatterpoore. Rajah Gur is an antient palace surrounded with high walls, handsomely ornamented within and without, situated on the side of an high hill, two miles from the river Cane, a large town

town spreading itself on a plain to the south-east of the hill.

Colonel Leslie, with the quarter-master general, and the advanced guard, went to view the ground for an encampment as near as possible to the river. Upon their appearance the enemy of the opposite side began to fire smartly from six or seven pieces of cannon; but without any effect, as the troops were soon covered by the advantage of a hollow way. Orders were immediately sent to bring up two twelve, two six pounders, and a howitz: as soon as these were placed the cannonade was returned, and a few carcasses thrown from the howitz set fire to the huts, which were soon consumed, and obliged the enemy to remove to a greater distance: ground for the encampment was then taken, out of the reach of their artillery. The river Cane is here very rapid, full of rocks, large stones, and stumps of trees; in the time of the rains it is about six hundred yards wide, but a few days of fair weather makes it fordable in several places.

While Colonel Leslie was making necessary preparations for the passage of the river, terms

terms of accommodation as usual were proposed by Amroud Sing, a negotiation entered into, and hopes entertained that the disputes between the two brothers would be speedily and finally adjusted. But on the 31st intelligence was received that a detachment of about 2000 cavalry and infantry, having crossed the river, under the command of a chief called Puddam Sing, had marched into the rear, with an intention of cutting off the communication with Chatterpoore, which he threatened to plunder, if any thing was suffered to pass through, or was sent from thence to the English army, and had seized three or four hundred bullocks loaded with grain coming to the camp.

On the 1st of September Captain Popham was detached after him with his battalion of sepoys, their artillery, and the Candaharian cavalry. In the evening he got intelligence of the enemy's situation; and early the next morning, leaving the battalion with their artillery to follow with as much expedition as possible, he advanced with the grenadiers and cavalry. About noon he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found drawn up, and prepared to receive him; they had dis-
posed

posed of their cavalry on their right, and their left, which was composed of their infantry was covered by a Nullah, and a copse of thick underwood. Captain Popham divided his cavalry on the right and left of his grenadiers, who formed the center, and with whom he advanced briskly on the enemy, receiving their fire, and reserving his until he came close to their line, when it was poured in and repeated with such effect that they broke; they were pursued with great slaughter for some miles by the Candaharian horse. Among the slain twenty-four of the enemy were found on the spot where they received the first volley. The loss on our side was one grenadier killed, four wounded, and of the cavalry, two killed, and four wounded. Some of the enemy retreated to a fort called Gurgunge, which they abandoned in the night; Lieutenant Tisdale was wounded in reconnoitring it. Captain Popham was ordered to remain in that neighbourhood to watch the motions of the enemy, who seemed to be again assembling.

A little before this the possession of Culpee being now no longer thought necessary, it was by order of the Supreme Council given up,

up, and the English guard withdrawn : ~~they~~ seemed for a little space to have reconciled Ballagee ; but the impediments thrown in the way of the detachment shewed his insincerity, and how little was to be expected from any negotiation with him, or with any of the chiefs under his influence ; as Amroud Sing's ministers were so, it was vain to hope that he would conclude any effectual treaty, especially when one of the terms required was a provision for his elder brother, by yielding him a part of his dominion, yet he continually sent messages of accommodation. It was plain the end sought was delay, this was seen through, but the delay must have taken place from the great rain which swelled the river, and made it necessary to provide boats and rafts for the passage, and even then Colonel Leslie thought the rapidity was such, that he waited a day or two longer. He now received letters from the Rajah of Berar Moodagee Boosla, pressing his march to the Nerbuddah, containing the most friendly offers, and informing him that he had sent a person of confidence to meet him on the banks of that river, where he would find every thing prepared for his present occasions, and that future accommodations should be furnished through

through his dominions. In the same letter Moodagee expressed with warmth the great satisfaction he felt in the hopes of soon seeing Mr. Elliott, who was then on the road to Berar: but unfortunately the public were deprived of his services and abilities at this critical juncture.

He was seized on the 4th of September by a bilious fever, and inflammation of the liver, which from the beginning had mortal symptoms. The first account of his illness was written by Mr. Farquhar his secretary; this letter was dated on the bank of a Nul-lah, two coss to the eastward of Serinagur, the 9th of September: from the same place a letter of the 13th, gave the melancholy account of his death; these advices were received at Calcutta the 5th of October. Something of the character of this excellent man hath been already mentioned: much was expected from his parts and talents cultivated with unremitted diligence before he went to India, but as if the approach to the sun had brightened the flame of genius, he appeared fit for any undertaking, almost immediately after his arrival there. This could not escape Mr. Hastings who cherished and trusted him; during

during a short residency in Europe in the year 1776 his penetration, sagacity, and discretion answered fully his friend's expectations, who found the effect of them at his return.

About the same time as the letters from Moodagee were received, there came some from the Nabob of Bopaul, through whose territories the route of the detachment lay in the way to the Nerbuddah : they were in the most friendly strain. Advice of these letters was sent by Colonel Leslie, who at the same time mentioned the conclusion of treaties in his own name, and that of the Company with the several Boondelchund chiefs, the negotiation for which had lasted so long ; yet he was suspicious of Ballagee through whose territory he was to pass.

The death of Mr. Elliot was of the most fatal consequence, there was not any person who could well supply his place, he possessed the entire confidence of the governor general, and was looked on in that light by Moodagee ; a few days would have brought him to his court, where every thing might have been settled before the arrival of the detachment.

Now

Now a length of time must have passed before another person could be properly instructed and reach Berar.

The past conduct of Colonel Leslie, on whom this negotiation must immediately devolve, did not promise great success; he had been from the beginning of April to the middle of September performing what might have been done in two weeks, having met but a trifling resistance, and no cause of delay appearing, but settling disputes and making treaties in the families of the princes through whose country he had passed, expressly contrary to repeated instructions. The governor general was greatly embarrassed; he proposed, after much doubt in his own mind, to let matters stand for some time as they were, without substituting any person in the place of Mr. Elliot, and wait to see what course Moodagee would take, and whether he would renew his applications: all his letters had shewn a desire, and even impatience, to enter upon the business Mr. Elliot was charged with; the reasons which induced him to solicit an alliance with the English subsisted; it was therefore proper at that time to write to Moodagee, only mentioning the
misfortune

misfortune which had put a stop to their negotiation, and desiring for the present his assistance for promoting the march of the detachment to its destination. This occasioned a renewal of altercations in the council: the debates in their consultations extend to whole volumes. This difference of opinion arose from the different principles on which the members reasoned: those adopted in the beginning of the present administration invariably influenced the opinions of one part of it upon every occasion; peace had been recommended from England as the great object, therefore nothing that could by any means tend to interrupt it was to be admitted: consequently the scheme of extending their alliance to the different states of that region was dangerous; intermeddling in their affairs upon any disputes, either internal or between one state and another, pernicious; all acts in consequence, disobedience to the orders of the Directors; of course every measure for that purpose was to be opposed. On the other hand the governor general and Mr. Barwell were of opinion, that to make the English nation considerable, and give its establishment stability, it was necessary to extend its influence; to
have

have connections with all the princes of Indostan, which should make them look up to it, as the preserver of their respective independence from that power, under whose pressure they had groaned so long. This system hath already been detailed. From this difference of systems rose a difference of opinions upon every political and military matter; not only on the first mention of the plan, but on each operation necessary in the execution of it. Upon the first advices from Bombay of the commotions in the Durbar of Poonah, the seconding the designs of that council to take advantage of those distractions was reprobated by that part of the council; the project of sending the detachment across the peninsula was called impracticable and fruitless, immoderate in expence, and productive of war with every nation in India; the alliance with Berar, a measure unnecessary, and big with mischief. Nor was the danger from French influence, or the probability of an attack upon Bombay by an expedition from the islands, or other arrangements between the Mahrattas and that nation, looked on as real, the conjectures were on the contrary side: on the other hand, the governor general grounded his sentiments and formed

his proposed schemes, not only on conjecture, but information which he could depend upon of the reality of the French ministers designs. From such difference of opinion rose perpetual altercations: the present misfortune which suspended the negotiation for an alliance with Moodagee was a ground to suppose an annihilation of the project, and therefore to object to the letter proposed, and to move that the whole scheme should be discontinued. The news received of the depression of Ragobah's party at Poonah, the suspension of action at Bombay, without any communication from them of any future plan, and above all the fatal delay of the detachment having been upwards of four months from their crossing the Jumna to the banks of the Cane, were strong arguments for its recall; for as that distance was not above one hundred and twenty miles, at that rate, in what time was the detachment likely to arrive at Bombay? even exclusive of any check or delay to which it might be exposed from opposition by enemies, it must be a twelvemonth: how then could they be useful against present dangers? Therefore admitting it necessary to strengthen Bombay

against

against an invasion, it remained to be proved that the detachment, in its intended route, would arrive there in time to answer the end proposed: and it was alledged that a more safe method might be pursued by sending a detachment of General Munro's army from Madras; which might be spared, as the fate of Pondicherry must by that time be decided, by its being taken, or the design given over: and if this must be replaced, it might be done by the force in the northern circars; which again, if necessary, might be replaced from Bengal; that mode was liable to fewer objections than any other, being simple and easy in its execution.

To all this it was answered, that although the death of Mr. Elliot deprived them of the advantage expected from his abilities and the plenitude of his commission, some advantage yet remained; that the powers of the Mahrattas and the Decan were to be counterpoised by alliances, which might disjoin the states composing them, and unite some of them to the English; that the interests of Bengal and Bahar naturally led to such an union; that a suspension of that alliance did not annihilate the reasons on which it was

originally grounded, or render the march of the detachment unnecessary: that future events were not to be judged of by past errors, and a supposition that they would be suffered to continue: that the march of the detachment might have been made from Culpee to the banks of the Cane in ten days: that whatever service the detachment might act in hereafter, whether for the restoration of Ragobah, or in resisting a French invasion, or be recalled at a future period, the present continuation of its march was proper: that until the crisis which should determine its ultimate destination, its situation in Berar was central to all the English settlements; it might be a check to the Poonah government if only meditating, or a defeat to designs, if already formed by them. As to the proposal of sending troops from Madras, it was liable to yet more objections than had been urged against the march from Culpee. True, that in a right line, the distance of each of those places from Bombay was nearly the same; but the route from Madras must be traced along the coast to the south, and round the country of Travancore to Anjengo, and from thence, either by a dangerous navigation along the Malábar coast, or continued by land

land through the dominions of Hyder Ally; whereas the road from Culpee deviated but a little from the right line, so that with superior difficulties the former would exceed it in length almost one third, besides having marches of other troops to replace those so detached from the Carnatic.

In consequence of these arguments it was resolved that Colonel Leslie should prosecute his march in conjunction with the troops of Moodagee, if he chose to join the detachment with any, and that he should obey the orders of the presidency of Bombay for his destination; with a discretionary power to suspend his march after his arrival in Berar, if Moodagee did not join him with a force, or if he did not receive orders from Bombay: and letters were to be written to that council, informing them of these orders, and to desire that either upon their former plan, if subsisting, or any new for the restoration of Ragobah under the conditions before stipulated, or the necessity of repelling a French invasion, which should require the progress of the detachment, even without the junction of any other power in alliance with them, in any such case only to command it

to advance. The debates on this subject were further continued, and at last ended in a resolution to recall Colonel Leslie.

This was notified to him in a letter dated the 15th of October, wherein they also disavowed the treaty he had made with the Rajahs of Boondelchund, as made in direct violation of their orders, and he was commanded to deliver over the charge of the detachment to Colonel Goddard, or the officer next in command, and to repair without loss of time to Calcutta, to give an account of his conduct. Letters were also written to Colonel Goddard, inclosing copies of the instructions which had been given to Colonel Leslie, and repeating the several directions which had been given him, as well in relation to his march, and the orders of the Bombay council, as to his transactions with the Rajah of Berar, and a particular injunction to recall any detachment that should have been made from the main body, and to keep the whole together.

Colonel Leslie's death had, before this, put an end to all enquiries ; he had at last given orders for the march on the 28th of September,

September, but on that very day he was seized by a bilious fever, of which he died, the 3d of October. By this event the command had already devolved on Colonel Goddard, a man whose abilities have shewn him equal to any undertaking. He immediately gave notice of Colonel Leslie's death, and his intention to march on with all possible dispatch, as soon as he should, from the papers of the deceased, have got information of the intentions of the board relative to that service, and taken his measures thereon; all which required but very few days.

Agreeably to these promises the detachment marched from Rajah Gur on the 8th, and on the 12th arrived at Goorgunge, a distance of thirty-seven miles, having left the country in perfect peace, and the Boondelchund chiefs professing amity towards each other, and respect and friendship to the English nation, whose power in arms they had felt. The army was plentifully supplied with every necessary for its support and convenience,

Ballagee's territory begins about Goorgunge, from whence the detachment marched

on the 14th; on the 16th they arrived at Coutnee Nullah, where they halted two days. Whilst in this camp, a party of vagabonds, professing to be a religious order, well known in the east by the name of Pandarums, about three hundred in number, got into the rear of the English army, and drove off two elephants, and some camels; this was part of a body of two thousand who were in the neighbourhood. Those banditti are the pest of India, roving about the country in great bodies, sometimes begging, but oftner plundering and otherwise distressing the poor inhabitants. Four companies of grenadiers, and a party of cavalry were immediately sent after these pilferers, whom they soon overtook and recovered the plunder, killing about twenty in the pursuit.

On the 18th, the troops moved and reached Heerapour, a march of about five miles only, owing to the difficulties of the road, and of a pass, which the rear guard, baggage, and artillery could not get through until the 19th in the evening.

On the 20th, a Vaqueel came from Ballagee with a proposal to Colonel Goddard not to take the intended route by Sagur, representing it would be attended with great loss and inconvenience, as the inhabitants would abandon the city on the approach of the troops, that there was another road as good, and but little out of the way, adding the strongest assurances that if this request was complied with, the detachment should not meet with the least obstruction in its march, but be plentifully supplied with provisions.

Colonel Goddard, satisfied that his compliance was most likely to forward the great object of the present service, which was dispatch, and being well informed that the road proposed was as practicable, and but fourteen miles longer, granted this request, without abating any thing of his usual vigilance and precaution, being ever on his guard against the designs of a man whose character was made up of fraud and deceit.

From the time the army left Rajah Gur, to the 20th of October, the country they had to pass was broken and mountainous and the
roads

roads bad. Every thing now began to wear a better appearance, the country was open, fine, and well-cultivated. The sickness which ever in some degree accompanies the rainy season was vanished, and all breathed the spirit of their general.

On the 21st the march was resumed, and on the 28th the troops arrived at Maltown, a large town belonging to Ballagee, 51 miles distant from Heerapour: here they halted until the 1st of November, on which day they reached Kimlessah. This is a large fort and strong citadel belonging to Ballagee, and there it was supposed he had deposited all his treasures which he had brought from Sagur. The fort is situated on a hill, the walls are built of hewn stone, without any cement; the citadel on the highest part of the hill commands the whole; the ramparts of this are very strong, built of stone, and laid in mortar. This is the first town of note in the province of Malava, the boundaries of which begin some miles on the eastern side of it.

On the 4th of November the detachment arrived at Kourney, distant from Kimlessah
twenty-seven,

twenty-seven miles. At this village ends the territory properly belonging to Ballagee, and a small district begins, called the Bilfah Country, belonging to Sindia, but holden for him by a Patan chief.

Hitherto Ballagee seemed to have kept to the terms of his last agreement; but it was in hope of lulling Colonel Goddard into a degree of security, which he flattered himself he might take advantage; for on the last day's march, when the army was nearly out of his confines, he suddenly appeared in their rear with a body of 5000 cavalry, and made an attack on the baggage, but without the least effect; a strong rear guard, with the good order and disposition of the troops, prepared against all surprise, left him nothing but the disgrace of the attempt, and of a repulse with the loss of some men. This conduct was equally perfidious and unmerited, as the strictest care had been taken to prevent the troops in their passage from doing any damage to his country, which discipline was productive of this good effect, that none of the villages in the line of march were forsaken by the inhabitants.

The chief of the Bilsah district having agreed to the passage of the detachment through his country, they marched on the 9th, and arrived at Burseah, near which his territory ends, on the 15th.

During this last march, which was the length of sixty miles, Ballagee's troops, whose numbers were increased to near 10000, every day appeared, and ceased not harrassing our rear. At night they retired to such a distance as made a surprise impracticable. They failed in every attempt, nor were they able even to retard the march.

On the 17th the army marched from Burseah, and entered Bopaul Tollaw, the territory of the Nabob Hyat Mahomet Cawn, a Patan. This country exhibited the good effects of peace, and a wise government; the villages are numerous, and inhabited by people who seem to live in ease and plenty; they are well clothed, and their houses in good condition.

Islam Gurr, or Islamabad, which is eighteen miles from Burseah, is the first town of note: it is large and populous, and hath a fort

~~Fort~~ built of stone. The nabob is rich, having a jaghire, which produces nine lacks a year, and besides rents from the Mahratta government, which amount to fourteen lacks more.

On the 20th the army reached the capital of this province which bears its name. It is situated on the side of a hill, and descends to a lake whose extent is ten miles; the walls of the town are nine miles in circumference; the inhabitants are of a fairer complexion than is usual in India; their houses are built of stone and mostly good; every thing speaks happiness and gentle administration. Provisions are abundant; they were much cheaper than they had been found in any part of the march. The force of this chief amounts to 7000 men; he hath a considerable artillery, and a great number of firelocks. The fort is commanded by a hill to the eastward, which is a hard rock; the upper part of the fort is also on a rock, without a ditch; the rampart of hewn stone laid in mortar.

It was found necessary to halt there a few days to collect provisions, and make other necessary preparations for the march to Hushnahbad.

nahbad Gaut, on the banks of the Nerbuddah. The conduct of the nabob was in every respect perfectly agreeable to his friendly declarations : Ballagee, in revenge for a behaviour so contrary to his views, had entered his dominions and plundered some of his villages ; but further outrages were stopped by a spirited message from the nabob, declaring if he did not give over the pursuit and instantly quit the country, he would march against him with all his force.

On the 27th, the detachment resumed its march : the first two days proved tolerably good, and the country fertile and varied ; but the third and fourth, on which they reached the Nerbuddah, presented a variety of difficulties, from the number of narrow passes and broken roads, which were such as nothing but incessant labour could have conquered. The whole distance was forty-six miles. Colonel Goddard gives the highest praise to the spirited exertions of his men during this whole march, and the chearfulness with which they went through their uncommon fatigue.

On the 30th they reached Hufnahbad Gaut; the Nerbuddah at this place is not broader than the Jumna at Culpee; the banks not so high; the stream is gentle and clear; a sandy bottom, intermixed with rocks; the hills are very high on the north side, and within a mile and a half of the river. On the south they appear about six miles distant; the ground between on both sides a thick underwood; the river runs E. and N. E. The distance from Rajah Gur to the banks of the Nerbuddah at Hufnahbad is two hundred and eighty-eight miles. Fourteen miles to the southward of the Nerbuddah is the province of Berar.

We shall now return to the operations of the Supreme Council. From the previous knowledge which the governor general had of Colonel Goddard's abilities and discretion, and as it appeared from his letters that he should be in a short time in Berar, he on the 16th of November 1778, proposed in council that the person in whose possession remained the papers of Mr. Elliot, which he had caused to be sealed up on the beginning of his illness, should deliver them to Colonel Goddard, and that he should be directed to
 carry

carry into execution the instructions given ~~to~~ Mr. Elliot, and negotiate and conclude a treaty with the Rajah of Berar, as if they had been originally given to him. This, after some opposition, was resolved, and letters in consequence were written, and at the same time the instructions communicated to the council of Bombay. Mr. Farquhar who gave the account of Mr. Elliot's death did not long survive his friend; the care of the papers devolved on Mr. Anderson, who by Moodagee's desire was gone to him at Nagpoor: during his journey a severe illness had seized this prince, he had been some days delirious, and his life so far despaired of, that he had, according to the custom of the Gentoos, been taken from his cott and stretched on the ground, there to expire: when Mr. Anderson arrived, a favorable crisis had relieved him, but such was the weakness which his disorder left, that his health returned very slowly: whilst he was recovering, he answered the letters he had received from Colonel Goddard, announcing the death of Colonel Leslie, and the preparations making for a speedy march to Berar; a copy of his letter, dated the 23d of November, which was delivered to Mr. Anderson, that he might

might send it to the governor general, was on ~~the~~ 1st of December read in consultation. It began with informing Colonel Goddard that Lalloo Jaddoo Roy, who had been sent to the Nerbuddah to receive Colonel Leslie, and after waiting five months in vain expectation of his arrival, had been obliged by sickness to return to Nagpoor, should now advance two or three days journey to meet him and inform him of the situation of the armies of the Decan, and all other matters. That the death of Mr. Elliot had suspended all negotiations and schemes until the arrival of letters from Calcutta, or of a person of confidence to supply his place; that as the greatest friendship subsisted between him and the governor general, he could have no objection to the army's crossing the Nerbuddah and entering his dominions, where every accommodation should be provided; that the warmth of friendship not allowing dissimulation or reserve, it was incumbent on him to communicate what he had learned, and his sentiments on every matter; that the delay of five months which Colonel Leslie had employed in settling the affairs of the Boondelchund country was impolitic and prejudicial to the design of the expedition; that it furnished

nished Ballagee an occasion of accusing him at Poonah, of creating disturbances, ~~and~~ meditating the reduction of that province, thence to proceed in a hostile manner against the Paishwah ; whereby the chiefs alarmed raised troops, and Ballagee received orders from Poonah, and Sindia and Holcar had likewise assembled armies ; that the Nizam being in strict league with the Paishwah, had stationed troops in different passes and gauts. That he had designed on the arrival of Mr. Elliot to have with him formed a plan to ensure a free and unmo-
 letted passage to Bombay ; one part whereof was, that both Mr. Elliot and he should, in letters to Poonah, assure that government that the detachment was not intended to be hostile to them, or to meddle in reinstating Ragobah ; that it was meant solely to protect the English settlements against the French, between whom and Britain war was declared : he then mentioned the substance of the governor general's letters to him since the death of Mr. Elliot, “ whereby he was requested
 “ to inform him of such points as he wished
 “ for the purpose of establishing a firm union
 “ and solid friendship between them, on the
 “ ground of reciprocal and equal benefit ;
 “ that

“ that the present time furnished an opportunity for this, that the detachment would soon enter his dominions, that it was advisable to strengthen it with a body of his forces ; he waited impatiently to be made acquainted with his opinion, on which to form his ultimate resolutions.” On this letter he remarked, that to form such a plan, and establish such an union, required time, and a long communication by letters ; that the immediate junction of a body of his troops could produce no good effect, but might excite jealousies in the Paishwah and the Nizam, and expose his dominions to ravage ; he therefore should wait for a reply from Calcutta with the opinion of the governor general, and he desired the Colonel to advise him of whatever plan he should adopt for an unreserved communication between them, “ as such between friends is highly commendable and approved by God.”

In a postscript he mentions the danger there may be from the troops of Sindia and their desultory manner of fighting, and recommends remaining on the banks of the Nerbuddah till he should receive letters from Calcutta, and to write to the Paishwah, declaring

declaring peaceable intentions, and that he will not in any manner assist Ragobah. ~~His~~ ^{His}, as well as the letter, breaths the strongest friendship for the governor general. The words are remarkable, “ I am induced by friendship
 “ to give you this intelligence, for my heart
 “ is pained at the apprehension of your ex-
 “ perienicing any misfortune, and to return
 “ would lessen the terror of your arms, and
 “ give displeasure to Mr. Hastings.

Upon this letter, two questions arose, 1st, Whether it did not appear that Moodagee was disinclined to join Colonel Goddard, or co-operate in any enterprize against the Poonah government. 2d, Whether it did not appear to be the opinion of Moodagee that Colonel Goddard, proceeding on his march, would expose the detachment to the greatest difficulties and dangers.

But these questions were looked on as premature: for the letters written by Moodagee, upon his hearing of Mr. Elliot's death and received on the 12th of November, contained the most pressing instances that the intended negociation should proceed, and might be committed to the charge of Mr. Farquhar;
 on

on the 16th it had been resolved to charge Colonel Goddard with this negociation, and on the 23d, notice was given of it to Moodagee; now from that prince's writing the letter received on the 12th of November upon his first notice of Mr. Elliot's death, to his notice of Colonel Goddard's being substituted to him, (during which interval also happened his sickness) he must have been in utter uncertainty; it was therefore proper to await the letters he should send after his having learned that change. In consequence, the questions received a negative.

That no precaution tending to ensure the success of the detachment should be omitted, as from the delay before Colonel Leslie's death there might have been some diminution of their numbers; two battalions of sepoy's under the command of Major Carnac, an experienced officer, who had a thorough knowledge of that country, were sent to the western frontier, there to wait the directions of Colonel Goddard, either for a junction with his detachment, for the protection of Nagpoor, or for preserving the communication with Bengal, as

should be by him judged most ~~conducive~~ to the end of the expedition. They set out the 4th of January 1779.

In the mean time Colonel Goddard was proceeding; on the 1st of December, the first and fourth battalion of sepoy's crossed the Nerbuddah in boats. On the next day, the passage of the whole army was effected, a place having been found where the river was fordable. As it was probable the troops might remain some time in their encampment, great care was taken to chuse an healthy situation.

Immediately after crossing the Nerbuddah, Colonel Goddard was met by the confidential person whom the Rajah of Berar had promised to send to him; his conversation, though declarative of the most friendly disposition, turned singly on the means of reconciling the Poonah Durbar to the march of the detachment: as no mention was made of any further views, some other mode of communication was necessary; the distance from the camp to Nagpore being two hundred miles, was too great for the Colonel to go in person, unless he were assured that the intentions of
the

the Rajah were perfectly favorable, in the several points on which he was empowered to treat; he therefore, that no time should be lost, sent Lieutenant Weatherstone, fully instructed in every point relative to those matters: he answered the trust reposed in him, acquitting himself of his commission with great ability. He found that a spirit of caution and circumspection directed the councils of Moodagee, and that he wished all further proceedings should be suspended until a full settlement between him and the Supreme Council was completed; that the disputes in which the Poonah Durbar was involved with Bombay, and the part taken by these in favour of Ragobah, was an obstacle to the commencement of any active operations: at the same time there was no doubt but his inclinations to the English were really friendly, and that political motives, as well from his future views as from the vicinity and situation of his dominions, in regard to the English possessions, must determine him to keep that line. These considerations convinced Colonel Goddard that there was not any prospect of an immediate conclusion of such an alliance as was aimed at in the instructions given to Mr. Elliot;

Elliot ; he therefore determined his course of action by the events of the times.

He had, agreeably to the orders of the Supreme Council, regularly sent information to Bombay of the progress of his march, but had not for some time past received any letters from them, yet from Moodagee and other quarters intelligence came to him of their intentions to reinstate Ragobah, and of their preparations for effecting that undertaking : certain of these facts, he maturely considered the substance and spirit of the instructions from the Supreme Council as well to him as the late Mr. Elliot, whence he concluded that marching to Poonah was what was fittest to be done on the circumstances in which he stood ; he at that moment received letters from the presidency of Bombay, confirming all these advices, and particularly informing him of their treaty with Ragobah, and that their army had taken the field and begun their march to Poonah, towards which place they required him to proceed with all expedition ; this confirmed not only the propriety but the necessity of the measure ; whatever might be the result of the resolves of the Supreme Council, the arrival of this force

force near Poonah must be for the interest of the service, either to prosecute the war, which he looked on as actually begun by acts of hostility he had authentic intelligence of, or bring it to an honourable conclusion, and at the same time he should be ready to act in concert with Moodagee in any plan determined between him and the Supreme Council. He therefore formed the resolution of marching directly; when this was imparted to Moodagee, he repeatedly expressed his wish that the Colonel should remain in his dominions till orders were received from Calcutta, but nothing could induce him to change a measure which he was convinced was essential. He soon satisfied Moodagee that a further delay would prove prejudicial. The whole conduct of this prince bespoke perfect confidence and friendly intentions. The Colonel finding a difficulty in negotiating his bills on Calcutta, he advanced money upon them, without receiving any thing on the score of discount, and in every other respect assisted him, promising to furnish provisions as they advanced, for which purpose, a principal person belonging to him should remain upon the confines of his country, and forward the supplies of grain. All was now in readiness, and

and on the 16th of January 1779, ~~the~~ troops left their camp on the banks of the Nerbuddah.

In their march on the 21st, they passed through a considerable town called Hurdah, belonging to the Paishwa, and here they got into the great road leading to Brampore and Poonah, the way which Colonel Upton had gone when sent upon his embassy to that Durbar.

The next day the army reached Charwah, and halted on account of the extreme illness of Lieutenant Colonel Fortman, the field engineer, who died the day after, universally regretted. The distance from the camp on the banks of the Nerbuddah to Charwah is eighty miles, a country remarkably rich and fertile, and producing a large quantity of wheat. During this march, Colonel Goddard had received intelligence that the army from Bombay was encamped at Boragaut fifty miles from Poonah, waiting there for stores, and that a considerable force had taken the field to oppose them, and was stationed between them and that place; and on the 24th he received advices directly from the gentlemen

gentlemen whom the select committee of Bombay had appointed to conduct Ragobah to Poonah, and settle the affairs of that government, giving notice of that appointment; this letter was dated the 11th of January, and signed by Mr. Carnac; it mentioned, that “ within two days the face of
 “ their affairs was so changed with respect
 “ to the primary cause, which led to direct-
 “ ing his march towards Zineer, a fort be-
 “ longing to Morabah, that they must
 “ give him advice, if he was joined by a
 “ body of Moodagee’s forces, sufficient to
 “ enable him to advance, notwithstanding
 “ attacks of cavalry which would hover
 “ round him from all quarters to seize his
 “ baggage and provisions, and if he had
 “ provisions sufficient to last him until he
 “ reached Broach or Surat, to proceed to such
 “ of those places as he could most speedily
 “ arrive at; but if he could not proceed in
 “ the face of such an enemy, without immi-
 “ nent hazard of distress, then to remain
 “ on the borders of Berar, or where he
 “ could best secure provisions till further
 “ directions from the select committee of
 “ Bombay.”

This

This letter left him in doubt whether the writers had a prospect of accomplishing their undertaking without his assistance, or had given it over as impracticable; the fear expressed of the Mahratta horse led him to conclude the latter, and the beginning of their letter the former. This state of uncertainty was increased, by his receiving on the next day a letter from the select committee at Bombay, dated the 12th, wherein they hastened his march in the road first pointed out. It was plain the select committee were ignorant of the circumstance alluded to in the letter of the 11th. In this perplexity he determined to proceed to Brampoor, where more particular knowledge of the situation of affairs should determine the manner of his farther progress.

In consequence, the army continued its march from Charwah on the 25th of January; they proceeded without interruption, and on the 30th reached the banks of the Tapti river, opposite Brampoor, a distance of seventy-three miles. Colonel Goddard did not find the regular information he expected, but met flying reports of the defeat of the Bombay army.

On

On the 2d of February the following letter, signed by Mr. Carnac and Colonel Egerton, dated the 19th of January, from Campoly, was delivered to him :

“ Sir, We have addressed you on the
 “ 16th a letter containing orders which upon
 “ on recollection we do not think ourselves
 “ authorized to give you, you are therefore
 “ to pay no regard whatever thereunto,
 “ We are, &c.”

Not having received the letter of the 16th, and the reports he had met foreboding its contents, joined to the shortness of this, threw him into great perplexity ; he thought at first of halting, to procure further and more certain intelligence, but not having received it on the 5th, after maturely considering his critical situation, being in the heart of the Mahratta empire, surrounded by enemies, whose success might leave them at liberty to act with their whole force against his detachment, the season approaching in which it would be hazardous to keep the field in an inimical country, he determined to march towards Surat with all possible expedition. He was confirmed in this by letters from
 Moodagee,

Moodagee, the contents whereof led him to conclude that the Bombay government had received some considerable cheque, the bad consequences of which might be prevented by the presence of the detachment, especially should an attack meditated by the French, be carried into execution. The doubt whether the late misfortune might not operate a change in the favourable dispositions of Moodagee, was another circumstance impelling him to proceed forward, rather than run the hazard of such a change in returning through Berar; too much time would have been consumed in waiting to learn his determination, and by that the opportunity of service be lost. The propriety of this resolution was evinced by a letter afterward received from Moodagee, wherein he seemed greatly apprehensive of the consequences of this blow, and advised that the detachment should not proceed. In the correspondence between Colonel Goddard and the Supreme Council, the reasons which determined him to this measure appear at large, and do no less honour to his judgment and penetration, than the celerity of his march does credit to his abilities as an officer, and to the uncommon exertion and spirit of the troops under his command.

The

The city of Brampore is equal in size to ~~Petra~~ and is the capital of the rich province of Candish, under the dominion of the Poonah ministry; it is surrounded by a stone wall in bad repair. The troops during their stay in this city were treated by the inhabitants with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and plentifully supplied with provisions, which were regularly paid for; the grapes were remarkably fine, and came from a place called Ashere Gurr, distant about fourteen miles N. N. E. of Brampore. Mr. Dow in his third volume calls it Haffer, or Hazire. It is described as an impregnable fortress, situated on the top of a very high hill, appearing somewhat like the Table Land at the Cape of Good Hope; the fort on the summit seems not less than an English mile in diameter; it is of a triangular form, the walls of stone, laid in mortar, with round towers, and cavaliers at proper distances. Within the fort there is said to be a large lake, and a canal from it which runs the length of the fort; it is also reported that this ground produceth grain enough for the subsistence of the garrison, which consists of about 1500 men. In consequence of the strength of this situation, the Killadar supports his independence, and

and bids defiance to all his neighbours; the country all around is composed of hills of conckar, and such broken irregular ground, that there is no access to the place, but through a deep hollow way, so narrow that a loaded bullock can scarce pass. The mountain itself is of a rocky stone and conckar, and the height such as to be seen distinctly at twenty-five miles distance.

The army marched on the 6th, and on the 9th a Vaqueel belonging to the Paishwah Madharow Narrain, delivered the letter signed by Messrs. Carnac and Egerton, dated the 16th of January, from the camp at Tullingaum, and written in consequence of the late unfortunate convention, directing his return to Bengal, accompanied by one from the Paishwah, corresponding with those directions. The letter of the 19th released him from every obligation to attend to these. From this circumstance, and the further intelligence received at the same time, Colonel Goddard had the fullest proof of the expediency and propriety of the resolution he had taken; he therefore answered the Durbar, that in obedience to the orders of the Supreme Council he was marching to protect Bombay, that his intentions

intentions were friendly to the Mahratta state, ~~and he~~ should continue to preserve the same regard to the friendship between the Supreme Council and the Poonah administration, protecting the subjects of the Paishwa from violence, and avoiding all hostility, unless compelled to it by their opposition. That he was now advanced to the neighbourhood of Bombay, which according to the orders of the Supreme Council he must reach, after which he must be guided by its directions. He was then arrived on the banks of the gut Nuddy, near eighty miles from Brampoor, which he had marched in four days: the road was good, the country fine and fertile, full of villages and inhabitants: the distance between the last mentioned place to Surat, about two hundred miles, which he made no doubt of reaching before the end of the month; nor was he mistaken, the march was continued with such unremitting celebrity and spirit, that the army arrived at Surat on the 25th of February, having marched, from the 6th, near three hundred miles, including two or three days halt.

This march was performed with the more ease from the good effects produced by the

moderation and strict discipline with which this detachment was conducted, which procured them, not only acquiescence, but every assistance which the inhabitants of the many villages they passed through could give them. None of these forsook their houses, but voluntarily offered their provisions and grain. An enumeration of these villages would yield neither satisfaction or useful information, and their names are all detailed in a journal lately published. The country is fertile, populous, and well cultivated, the inhabitants seem industrious, happy, and humane. Their good reception of the army was the more useful at this time as the rapidity of the march was such, that many of the carts, upon which the grain which had been provided at Brampoor was to be carried, were unable to keep up with the army, and had not the country supplied provisions, the progress must have been retarded from the necessity of adapting the motion of the army to that of this part of the baggage.

The first notice received at Bengal of the unfortunate issue of the enterprize of the Bombay council was from Fort St. George. The president sent copies of letters which the Nabob Mahomet Aly Cawn had received from

from Poonah. From these and several other papers received the same day, the whole appeared in the worst light: for, in some of them, it is added, that Ragobah had actually joined the Mahratta army with five or six thousand horse, and was united with them to fight against the English.

In this doubt and uncertainty the first care of the Supreme Council, after a mature deliberation, was to provide against all accidents that might happen from any sudden irruption into their territory or that of Owde: General Stibbert, then at the head of the army in Bengal, was for that purpose ordered to form two camps of the troops under his command, and hold them in readiness to march at the first notice; at the same time the governor general advised the Nabob of Owde that these extraordinary camps were not formed to act against any of the powers in the neighbourhood of his dominions. A subsequent order was sent the general to march the first brigade toward the banks of the Jumna, there to encamp in such a situation as was most convenient for defending the Doab against an invasion.

This was all that could be done until more authentic accounts came from Bombay. No very sudden irruption was yet to be feared from the Mahrattas, and though the defeat of the Bombay army might encourage the neighbouring powers to form alliances with the Poonah Durbar against the English, they could not be brought into action before the Supreme Council should have received such accounts as would have enabled them to take certain and proper arrangements, they therefore suspended their proceedings on that subject. The council of Madras apprised them of their pursuing the siege of Mahé, the success whereof could not be doubted ; this was a salutary measure, not only as it totally removed the French from Indostan, but prevented the effect of disagreeable impressions, which the late defeat might have made, especially if diffidence or timidity appeared to follow it.

Much about the same time they received letters from Colonel Goddard, by which he informed them of the several particulars just now related, and the directing of his march towards Poonah in consequence : one part of his letters was comfortable. They all contained repetitions of his firm belief of the friendly

'friendly sentiments of the Rajah of Berar towards the government of Bengal, and of his performing his promises of assistance in every point but that of taking an active part with the English arms. As the Colonel had received no particulars, he could be explicit in nothing but his declaration of proceeding at first to Poonah and afterwards to Surat.

At last, on the 18th March 1779, letters came from the select committee of Bombay, dated the 3d of February, containing a summary account of the whole proceedings, wherein they said, as they could not admit an agreement made in such circumstances, and after so explicit a declaration of the committee's want of power to be of any validity, they should endeavour to treat with the Mah-rattas upon another footing.

The Supreme Council had some debate concerning what should be written both to the select committee and Colonel Goddard ; at length it was resolved to approve his marching to Surat with all expedition, and as by the resolution of the Bombay council against the convention, or complying with its terms, it was probable

they might be engaged in hostilities with the Mahrattas, but all was yet dark, he was to act according to his discretion in pursuance to their former orders, with this explanation, that as the design of his march was to protect Bombay, that must be his object; but was to proceed, so as not to involve himself or the Supreme Council in the responsibility of their acts, remembering that he acted under the sole authority of the Supreme Council, and of course was to exercise his own judgment both in the acceptance and execution of any service which they should require him to perform.

The board now, on the 1st of April, ordered Major Camac to return to Corumbah in Chutta Nagpore: he had advanced into Berar, where he met with a friendly reception, Colonel Goddard having proceeded so far on his way to Surat, it became unnecessary for Major Camac's detachment to proceed further.

An incident now happened, which though it hath not a necessary connexion with the facts here related, yet from the fortunes and high rank of the actor, deserve a place in history.

In

In the beginning of February the grandson of the famous Nizam-al-Mullock, Ghazi-ul-Dien, who, in Dow's history, appears to have put two emperors to death, Ahmed Shaw, and Allum Geer Sani, the former the son of the unfortunate Mahummed, who had the mortification of receiving laws in his capital from Thamas Kouli Khan the Persian emperor, and the latter the great grandson of Aurungzebe, and father of the present Mogul, came to Surat. His nefarious actions are related in that history to the year 1761, when every thing was in confusion, and Dehli in the hands of Abdulla and his Durannies, was a scene of blood, devastation, and horror. Dow sums up his character in these words: " Thus
 " ended the public transactions of Ghazi-ul-
 " Dien, who crowded into a few years of
 " early youth more crimes and abilities than
 " other consummate villains have done in a
 " long life of wickedness and treachery.
 " Though he did not possess the Decan,
 " the fruit of his grandfather's uncommon
 " crimes, he may truly may be said to have
 " been the genuine heir of the parts and
 " treason of that monster of iniquity and vil-
 " liny." This man, after wandering in disguise through many countries, was brought

to the neighbourhood of Surat, where he dwelt in one of the Borah's mosques, in order, as it was given out, to proceed to Hodge: he was in the habit and personated the character of a Faquier: the Nabob of Surat sent and secured his person. He acknowledged himself to be the identical Ghazi de Khan *; he had with him a wife and two children, one sixteen years, and the other nine years old, and about eight or ten attendants; the Nabob sent him to one of his own gardens, called Mahomet a Bang, within the town walls. After his flight from Dehli in the year 1761, he had retired among the Jautes; and wandering from one place to another to seek security, he had come to Eugene the capital of Sindia's dominions. Here, under the habit of a Borah Faquier, he resided a considerable time, and was by the Grand Mullah sent to Surat, thence to go to Hodge, where he was discovered by some of those who had served under him at Delhi. Obnoxious to the Mogul for the murder of his father, and feared as a dangerous rival by the Subah of the Decan: Great sums had been offered for the possession of his person: the Nabob was uneasy, lest

* The addition of de Khan, or ul-Dien is indifferently given to him.

left when his residence at Surat should be publicly known, his person should be demanded by each of these princes: at the same time it was thought by him and the Bombay council, that the possession of a person so connected with the greatest families and Omrahs in India, might be of service to the Supreme Council. The Bombay select committee gave notice of this in their letter of the 21st of February, and of their determination to remove him to Bombay, which was his design; and they asked the orders of the Supreme Council concerning him. The answer to this expressed a wish that he had not been apprehended, advised that all appearance of violence should be avoided, and therefore recommended to them instantly to grant him his liberty, peremptorily insisting that he quit the English territories, and to forward him on his way to Mecca if an opportunity should offer. He soon after set out for that place, with his family and train.

On the 5th of April 1779 the number of the board of the Supreme Council being complete by the accession of Sir Eyre Coote, they took into consideration measures proper to be pursued in the circumstances which the late transactions had placed the
 affairs

affairs of the Company in. They appeared to be, that concessions were made by persons having no authority to make them; one of these was the surrender of the Company's possessions dependent on Bombay, and the other the return of the detachment; that the Bombay council were determined not to perform the first; the arrival at Surat had put an end to the second: that it was likely, as the person of Ragobah was now in the possession of the Mahratta chiefs, they would not insist on the rigorous performance of the conditions, so that a peace might be established; but if they should insist on them actual war must then exist, and Colonel Goddard must have been called in for the defence of those settlements: that in case the Mahrattas had taken no instant measures for enforcing the performance of these conditions, it might be supposed they had exacted them either to have a specious subject for present negotiation, or a pretext for renewing the war when they should be in a condition to prosecute it with surer effect; and with this intent might have invited the French to avail themselves, together with them of the present advantage by bringing an armament from Mauritius, where they had force
more

more than sufficient for such a design, the only chance left them of regaining their influence in India; that should this have been done (as such a message, if dispatched in January would have arrived there in March); if it found every thing in readiness the force sent from thence might arrive at the destined spot by the month of September.

On the other hand, probably the divisions of the Mahratta state were only suspended by the late danger, which united those parties in one common cause; the presence of Ragobah among them was likely to revive their dissensions; Sindia, who ever acted on a separate interest, might apply the sanction of his name to encrease and confirm his own power. As to the Rajah of Berar, his conduct since the knowledge of that event shewed he considered the defeat as natural, and a proof that English arms could not withstand the superiority of numbers, and the rapid movements of the Mahratta cavalry; that his apprehension of their power was the spring of his advice to Colonel Goddard not to proceed, and the influence of that impression had probably made him give up the thought of the alliance he once courted. It was not therefore

therefore adviseable for the Supreme Council to renew any overtures toward it, but if ever circumstances, either through fear of the Mahratta power, or of any other danger impending on the province of Berar, should prompt him to solicit the support of the English, it would be proper to grant it: the loss sustained was of credit and reputation only, therefore every step tending to betray a consciousness of weakness or want of resolution, was carefully to be avoided: at all events, whilst they sought peace they ought to be prepared for war.

On these considerations it was resolved, 1. To invest Colonel Goddard with full power, as minister of the Supreme Council, to treat with the Mahratta state for the renewal or confirmation of the treaty of Poona, provided they receded from their pretensions under the convention of Worgaum, and engaged never to admit French forces into their dominions, or permit them to have any establishment on the Mahratta coast; and these conditions were to be the alternative of peace or war. That letters in consequence, and conformable to what should be so written to Colonel Goddard, should be sent

sent to the Paishwa and his ministers, and also to the Rajah of Berar : that other letters should be written to the presidency of Bombay, advising them of Colonel Goddard's instructions, desiring them to be prepared, but to undertake nothing offensively without positive orders from the Supreme Council : and to the presidency of Fort St. George to inform them of this design ; and in the event of their success against Mahé, to order their troops then employed in that expedition to remain there or at Tillichery, and be prepared to move on the receipt of any orders for a junction with the English forces on that side of India. These dispositions were preparations to any plan which it might be necessary to concert with other presidencies in the event of a war with the Mahrattas singly, or joined with the French, or any attempt of these last singly upon Bombay.

The first care of Colonel Goddard, upon his arrival near Surat, was to choose a convenient and healthy spot of ground whereon to encamp ; such a one he found upon the banks of the river Tapti, two miles above the city. Almost upon his arrival he received letters from the select committee at Bombay, requesting

requesting his presence there. In order that he might lose no time in laying before the Supreme Council the state of affairs at that settlement, he set out for that island as soon as he had regulated every thing relating to the bills to be drawn on Bengal for his subsistence. In this he found difficulties; the merchants, taking advantage of his wants, raised the exchange to a monstrous height, to which he was obliged for some time to submit. The council of Bengal, on their knowledge of this, thought it necessary to send specie from thence, which was attended with a misfortune, five lacks of roupies sent by the Stafford were lost by the wreck of that ship.

Owing to the length of the passage Colonel Goddard did not arrive at Bombay till the 15th of March. The first thing he did was to make them a report of his force, and as they informed him that through the miscarriage of a packet from Bengal they had not received a copy of the instructions which had been given to Mr. Elliot, that they might have a thorough knowledge of the whole business, and thereby be prevented from adopting measures counteracting the
views

views of the Supreme Council, he wrote to them amply, inclosing a copy of the instructions, and giving a detail of every matter concerning the views in regard to Moodagee, and his disposition toward the English.

Whilst he was at Bombay he received his credentials from the Supreme Council's appointing him minister at Poonah. The select committee determined to suspend all operations until they should receive an answer from Bengal to their representation of the state of their affairs, with which they had sent Mr. Horsley a member of that council; and as the situation of the affairs at Poonah were very different from what they appeared to be to the Supreme Council, when they sent the first instructions to him, which was on the 5th of February, they having reason at that time to suppose Ragobah had succeeded, Colonel Goddard deferred making known to that Durbar that he had received them, until he should be further instructed on that head. This delay could be productive of no real inconvenience, as the period intervening between the arrival of an answer and the season for action would give sufficient time

time to follow and complete any measures that answer should direct : and he prepared to join his army at Surat, that he might be in readiness for any service necessary.

During all this time great dissensions had prevailed at Poonah ; nothing had been done in consequence of their advantage at Wor-gaum and Tullingaum, more than what hath been mentioned ; the Vaqueels of Nanaiah and Sindia demanded the execution of what was stipulated in the convention, and the same answers were returned ; the want of power in those who signed it, the notice the Mah-ratta chiefs had of that, and of the inability of the Bombay committee to act without the order of the Supreme Council. The arrival of the detachment at Surat had this immediate good effect, that a damp was thrown thereby upon whatever designs the Durbar might have formed of recovering by arms what they insisted was ceded, and ought to be delivered to them. It had also a very material good consequence in regard to the invasion designed by the French. They had got a very considerable force at Mauritius, 5000 European soldiers, with proportionable stores and artillery, and were collecting ships

to transport them, and join either Hyder or the Poonah ministry; when they heard of the arrival of the detachment at Surat, they stopped the embarkation. Thus every thing tended to open a new scene of action, with a fair appearance of retrieving past errors and misfortunes.

As the situation and the different interests of the princes of Indostan must have had a great influence on the proceedings of the Supreme Council, and their orders to Colonel Goddard from the time he was appointed the minister of that council in those parts of India, it will be useful and perhaps not unentertaining to take a view of them.

The first in dignity is the Mogul; he ought to be so in importance, but the misfortunes which have attended his whole life, have reduced that prince to so low an ebb, that after being at different periods sometimes oppressed and at others supported by parties of barbarians who wasted his dominions and absolutely ruined his capital, (insomuch that the once superb Dehli is little better than heaps of rubbish) his principal subsistence arises from the revenue of a part of the

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country

country of Owde, which had been ceded to him on the settlement with Sujah Dowlah in the year 1764. Notwithstanding his situation in life was such as required a continual exertion and an unremitting personal attention to his affairs, he had abandoned himself to pleasure and indolence, and was totally under the influence of others. His character is very fully drawn by Mr. Dow in his second volume, and the series of his adventures since that time shews it to be just and true. After many various scenes between him, and the persons who surrounded him, Nudjuff Cawn one of his Omrahs, hath by his successes fixed himself in the state of principal minister, with the powers of a Vizir, though the Nabob of Owde bears the title. His rivals in the Emperor's favour had not only failed in their schemes to dispossess him, but had been actually delivered into his hands, whereby he remained sole and uncontrouled minister, disposing at his pleasure of every thing relating to the throne of the Moguls; he had under his command a considerable army, for whose maintenance the many jaghires he had grants of did not suffice, so that with numbers of men he wanted treasure. Two predatory small Mahratta Chiefs

Chiefs had tried to enter into negotiation with him, to obtain an establishment in his service; but he had no treaty or intercourse with the Mahratta state; on the contrary, the advantages which he and other chiefs in the Mogul's service had taken of the distresses of the ministers at Poonah, to seize some of the Mahratta forts and territory, must have made him suspicious of their ill will, and therefore disinclined to their cause; besides it was his interest that the dissensions should continue, consequently no act in their favour was to be dreaded from him or the chiefs who had possessions in those parts of Indostan. The princes whose friendship was most important, or enmity dangerous, from their situation, as well as inclination or power, were Hyder Ally and the Nizam.

Hyder Ally, though not in declared enmity with the English, was far from having favourable dispositions towards them; he had, from the time his requisition for assistance against the Mahratta invasion had been refused, harboured a strong resentment, and now had entered into negotiations with the French, and in several instances shewn a strong inclination to their alliance. The

year befor this, when General Belcombe went to Mahé, he ordered his vassal the prince of Chericka, to give him possession of a fort which commanded the entrance of the river Myhic ; he had sent supplies and even money to Mahé before the English attacked it ; he had given the governor of that place permission to hoist his colours for his protection ; and he was preparing to send a fleet with provisions and supplies to the French islands, where there had been for some time an armament of five or six thousand men, intended to sail for the Malabar coast ; yet he was in an actual state of war with Poonah, in which he had had success, having twice overthrown the Mahratta army, and taken some forts and territory. His interest was that their dissentions should continue, but it was no less so to prevent the increase of power of the Nabob Mahomet Ally whom he knew to be his foe, and of the English whose greatness depressed him, and prevented his increase of conquest : he is by much the most formidable prince in India, having a great number of well-disciplined troops, and a proportionable well-served train of artillery ; he entertains many European officers, and of late has had a great accession to that force by
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the number of French who have found means to get to him from the French settlements reduced, and other countries fallen into English possession, particularly the Gontour Circar, where Bazalet Jung had five hundred French soldiers. The disturbances in the Mahratta empire lessening his fears from that quarter, increased his attention to these permanent objects of his jealousy, and his army was ready to take advantage of any occasion which may offer itself to employ it in.

The Nizam pursued his accustomed system of policy, which is to take advantage of the troubles in the countries bordering on his dominions: he had already profited by those in the Mahratta state; the ministers at Poonah had, to their great loss, purchased the small assistance he had at different times afforded them, by cessions of towns and territory, and payment of great sums of money; he was at this time particularly inclined to them, not only from the emolument which might arise from espousing them, but by being very much displeased with the government of Madras: they had suffered the annual rent sti-

pulated to be paid him for the possession of the Circars to run in arrear; and had sent Mr. Holland to his court to apologize for this, to promise more punctuality in future payments, and to solicit his sanction to a treaty carrying on with his brother Bazalet Jung, who held the Gontour Circar during his life, after which it was to be the Company's absolute property for a cession of it. He had already begun to act with success, when he received from them instructions of very different tendency, whereby he was ordered to insist on a release of those arrears, and a cession of this revenue in future: they had besides, without waiting for the Nizam's answer concerning Bazalet Jung, concluded their treaty with him, whereby for a consideration agreed on with them he yielded the actual possession of the Gontour Circar to them, and they had sent troops to take that possession. The council of Madras added an odious step to this, the Circar was let by them to the Nabob Mahomet Ally Cawn. The Nizam already displeased at this treaty, which though not openly injurious to him, as it regarded only Bazalet Jung and the English, yet as it increased their stability and

and power, was a diminution of his, was exasperated at this strange requisition, and complained bitterly to the Supreme Council of the behaviour of the presidency of Madras in this unjust and ill-timed demand; by the same letters he inveighed against the presidency of Bombay for assisting Ragobah. Upon the receipt of these complaints at Calcutta, orders were sent to Mr. Holland to act solely upon his first instructions, to make excuses for that extraordinary step, and to soothe him in regard to the transaction with Bazalet Jung, and from thenceforth to look on himself as the minister of the Supreme Council, and act by their direction solely. As to the assistance given to Ragobah, they answered his complaint by saying, that as the minister at Poonah had made war upon the English, these were driven by necessity to have recourse to every instrument of defence, but that he might be assured it should never be employed to his detriment, and reminded him that in the event of a war they were intitled to his assistance: he remained then seemingly quiet at his capital.

The Nabobs of Surat and Cambay, naturally averse to the Poonah government, by which they were oppressed, must see that the diminution of its power was likely to free them from that severe dependence, and therefore were well inclined to the English, and wished their success.

Futty Sing Guicawar, possessed of a great part of Guzerat, wished to increase those possessions: originally in league with the ministers, he had obtained from them large grants of land, which Ragobah when in power had revoked and granted to his brother Govind Row; he had, on the appearance of prosperity to that cause, in the year 1775, offered to yield to them a part of territory since claimed by the Poonah Durbar in virtue of the treaty of Porcunder; nothing had been yet settled on that claim, he was ready to turn to whatever side might prove of most advantage to him; the misfortune at Worgaum kept him from uniting with the English, whilst on the other hand the increase of force, by the arrival of the detachment under Colonel Goddard, prevented his forming any alliance or entering into engagements with the ministers.

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The consequence and power, and the inclinations and sentiments of Moodagee Boosla Rajah of Berar, fully appear in what hath been already related; from the time he became uncontrovertibly possessed of the Rajahship by the death of his brother, he had shewn a strong desire of alliance with the English, whom he looked on as interested in the support of views, which, although suspended by the late events in the West of India, future circumstances might furnish opportunities of reviving and carrying into execution. The establishment of Ragobah in the Paishwaship was an obstacle to them, and therefore he was averse to his success; the hatred of his cause had grown into a hatred of his person; on the whole it was his interest that there should be no end to the disturbances in the Poonah government; the settlement of Ragobah, even in the regency, much more in the Paishwaship, was likely to bring that government into a settled state; he was therefore averse to every step taken in his favour. This, with a dread of invasion, or irruption into his territory by the Nizam, and the army of the Poonah ministers, inclined him, after the success of Nanah and Sindia at Worgaum, and before

Colonel

Colonel Goddard had completed his march to Surat, to wish the return of the detachment to Bengal: yet he continued his professions of friendship to the English nation. Instances have already been related of his assistance in procuring money when Colonel Goddard was distressed, and of his hospitable treatment during the stay of the detachment in his dominions; in truth he had a particular esteem for the Governor General, with whom he had been long in correspondence. Upon the misfortune at Worgaum, he had sent his Dewan to Poonah, who assisted at the councils held for the regulation and settlement of that government, and he had for this received a grant of the district of Gurrah Mundele * as a jaghire for one of his sons, assigned for the payment of a body of troops, his quota towards carrying on the war. But this had no effect, for the ministers formed a design to arrest the Dewan, which having notice of, he disappointed by an abrupt departure, and they had sent orders to the brother of Ballagee to oppose the completion of this grant by preventing Moodagee, who on his

* Gurra Maudele in Reynel's map is on the North of the Nerbuddah, Lat. $23^{\circ} 10'$ East, Long. 81° .

his part was raising troops to take possession of it. His aversion to Ragobah was somewhat diminished by this perfidy of the ministers. In April the governor general had written to him, in answer to a message he had sent by Benaram Pundit, the confidential person, through whom their mutual correspondence had often before been managed, which shewed that he then thought no force could be opposed to the superiority of numbers, and rapid movements of the Mahratta cavalry, influenced by which impression he had apparently given up all thoughts of the designed alliance; the aim of this letter was to preserve the friendship and good disposition of that state to the English. It ended by mentioning that all thoughts of the design which had been formed were relinquished, but that a lasting remembrance should be had of his kindness, and that every suitable return should be made whenever any future occasion of his affairs should demand it. Thus the Supreme Council, totally disencumbered from any engagement with him, were at liberty to pursue any plan of action which should seem expedient, and at the same time there subsisted a mutual benevolence which

left

left room for any future negotiation the revolution of time might furnish an occasion for.

That which was most in favour of the English cause was the total expulsion of the French from India. The Supreme Council of Bengal had struck the first stroke by possessing Chandernagore; at the same time sending orders to Madras to attack Pondicherry. This place surrendered after a siege, the particulars of which are foreign to the present purpose, this was followed by the capture of Mahé; they were even removed from Surat, the Bombay Council having given orders for this when they took the resolution of effectually espousing Ragobah. By that removal from the coasts of Coromandel, the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bengal were empowered to act with security from that danger, and by spirited and vigorous measures to repair the mischief of the late miscarriage, and keep in awe those powers who might be disposed to take advantage of that misfortune. The presidency of Madras saw this, and properly concluded that

that proceeding vigorously in the attack of Mahé would remove the disadvantageous impressions it might have given rise to, whereas withdrawing their troops might have been followed by the loss of Tillicherry, and perhaps have induced those powers who were wavering to declare against the English, and give invitations to the French. Success proved the wisdom of these resolutions.

However, the armament at the French islands was to be dreaded, there was no doubt of their design upon Bombay, the loss of the *Protée*, joined to the arrival of the detachment under Colonel Goddard at Surat, retarded the execution of this design, and probably might have obliged them to alter the destination of the expedition, as by the presence of so considerable a force, that settlement was perfectly secure, but the design still continued, and it was not to be supposed that it could be given over, especially as their correspondence at Poonah still was carried on, and they were well acquainted with Nana's sentiments and Hyder Ally's inclinations.

Besides the powers already mentioned, there are several whose possessions lying northward partly compose, and partly incircle the Mahratta dominions. Some of them retaining the administration of their own domain, yet own a dependence on Poonah; others are independent: the first though incapable of a direct resistance must have the desire common to all Zemindars of taking the advantage of troubles in the state to withhold the payment of their rent or tribute; this, many of them then did, and whilst the distresses of their masters prevented their exertion against them, would continue to do: this withholding in the mean time was extremely prejudicial to the state, already very much drained of public wealth.

But the independent are more dangerous to the Mahratta empire: many of them have asserted this independence at critical times, when distresses either by internal commotions or external enemies have so embarrassed that government, that it hath been unable to reduce them to obedience. They know that when once power is restored, either by settlement of an able man in the Paishwaship, or by the total subversion of all claims against the

the ministers, their independence must be annihilated. They subsist only by the present distractions, and therefore are naturally the enemies of that government, and friends to those with whom they are at war. The countries of the most considerable of these princes form a chain from the Jumna to Guzerat; these are the Rajah of Gohid, of Jeynagur, of Jowdpoor, of Odeypoor: the first whose country approaches the nearest to the possessions of the Schah, and of the Nabob of Owde has the reputation of valour and ability; he has a great number of forts in his territory which have stood reiterated attacks; notwithstanding the Mahrattas have made frequent attempts to reduce him to subjection, he hath hitherto had the good fortune to maintain his independence. Formerly Gowalier was the principal fort, and the capital of his dominions, but after an unfortunate battle fought with them by his father, four or five-and-twenty years ago, in which he lost his life, this fort was gained by the Mahratta general, and hath ever since been in their possession. The present Rajah was then but nine years old; he feels the importance of this fort, and no doubt must be

be ready to enter into any measure which could enable him to regain that possession.

The Rajah of Jeynagur is yet a minor; and the weakness of a minority is increased by contests and dissensions among his servants; his territory is very considerable, and may afford an army of 40,000 men*.

The Rajah, commonly called Ranna of Odeypoor, is by descent the first in rank of all the Indoo families; he is very little known, and whether owing to prudence or fortune, has been so happy as to have no concern in the recent occurrences of Indostan. The antient domains of his family are now possessed by the Mahrattas. He can bring into the field only about 15,000 men†.

The most considerable from power and extent of territory is the Rajah of Jowdpoor, his dominion extends from the borders of Jeynagur East to the frontier of Guzerat, his capital is Meerta, a considerable town; the fortress and town of Jauloor, or Shaloor;
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* Dow, 2d vol. Decline of the Mogul empire, p. 86.

† Dow, ibid.

on the river Paddar, belong also to him; his territory extends to Aymeer on the north, and Odeypoor on the south: These two last Rajahs are nearly connected by inter-marriages.

Though no immediate connexion with any of these powers except the Rajah of Gohid is probable to be formed, yet, as by their situation in respect of the Mahratta territory, and their interest to have that empire humbled and disabled from vindicating the right they claim to the supreme dominion over them, they may be useful to cause a diversion in case the war is continued, it is not impossible that some alliance, at least temporary, may be formed with them by those who act for the English nation on that side of India:

The merit of Colonel Goddard appeared in so high a light, both in his military and political line, that the Supreme Council gave him a brevet of brigadier general, and confirmed the powers they had already vested in him for treating and concluding with the Mahratta government, leaving him, in case they rejected the terms he had instructions

to propose, full latitude of action as he should think most adviseable: and as Sindia, by his behaviour whilst the Bombay army were at Worgaum, had rights founded on intrinsic benefits, they declared that he should have a full compensation for any disappointment he should suffer by the denial of the acts of that committee; that negotiation was also totally left to him; as to that with Moodagee, if he found it totally at an end, it was not to be renewed without the orders of the Supreme Council.

On the 29th of May, Brigadier General Goddard announced his commission to the Poonah Durbar by letters he wrote to the Paishwa and Nanah, mentioning that it was the sincere wish of the Supreme Council to conclude a lasting alliance with that state, and desiring they would send a confidential person to him, to whom he should communicate particulars. The dissensions at Poonah ran high, Nanah endeavouring to regain the superiority he formerly had, and which he had flattered himself the confinement of Morabah and Saccaram would have effectually secured to him, and Sindia determined to preserve his power and keep Nanah in total

tal dependence on him ; for this he had retained the custody of Ragobah's person, notwithstanding Nanah had made him great offers to have that possession delivered to him, and treated him with the respect due to his rank ; having promised him an annual stipend of twelve lacks of roupees, left him a ~~small~~ artillery of twenty pieces of cannon, and a considerable body of troops ; yet this was but an honourable confinement, he was watched with great care. Sensible that this possession was a great advantage against Nanah, and effectually to secure it, Sindia designed to keep him out of the reach of Poonah, and for that purpose proposed that he should be conducted to a place of safety in one of his own provinces north of the Nerbuddah : this Ragobah agreed to, whether he really thought it most for his security or hoped the journey might furnish opportunities of fortune once more favouring him. Accordingly he set out towards Brampoor with his own attendants, and his force, which consisted of 1500 horse and foot, with twenty pieces of cannon ; in this journey he was escorted by 4000 horse, under the command of Hurry Bowagee, Sindia's Dewan. Dissatisfaction arose, the allowance

was not regularly paid, nor were the troops of Ragobah furnished with forage and provisions; he heard besides that Sindia had taken off two of his principal Jemindars, and detained some of his people who were to be sent after him; this awaked his suspicion that confinement was to follow, and prompted him to contrive a plan^t for an escape; an opportunity soon offered, as their troops crossed the Nerbuddah, his artillery marching down from the Gaut of Nurwah to the river, passed by the Dewan's tent, some bustle happened, in which the Dewan's people fired, on which Ragobah's troops attacked the guard, totally routed them, killing three hundred, and mortally wounding the commander. Ragobah immediately proceeded with what diligence he could towards Surat. From the neighbourhood of Broach he wrote to General Goddard, desiring his protection. The General was at first apprehensive that receiving him might be an obstacle to the negociation with Poonah; but considering that such a protection might be reconciled to that Durbar upon principles of justice and humanity, and that important political advantages might attend the possession of his person, he granted this asylum and personal security,

security, recommending it to him to be careful in preventing any violence from his people upon the subjects of the Mahratta state. His conduct in this was approved by the Supreme Council, who directed him to continue this protection so long as it should be not forfeited by any act of infidelity, or attempt to defeat the effect of his negotiation.

On the 12th of June Ragobah arrived in the English camp, accompanied by his adopted son Amrut Row, about seventeen years old, and Badge Row, a child of four years old, born to him since the adoption. The Colonel wrote to the Paishwa and Nannah acquainting them with this event, adding, that they might in their negotiation adjust whatever was proper concerning him. The Poonah ministers were enraged at this escape, and declared to Sindia they must consider him as responsible for that loss. It had at first the effect of making them in appearance more tractable, both Sindia and the ministers wishing to conclude a peace that they might be at liberty to act against Hyder Ally, who was still encroaching on them.

The force of the French at the Island was each day more looked on by the Supreme Council as a matter of very great importance; by advices lately received, they had reason to conclude they were intended against Bombay, and they therefore, in the beginning of August, ordered a reinforcement to General Goddard's army, by a detachment from Madras, and as much as could be ~~sent~~ from Mahé, when the works should be demolished; they advised him of this, and their reason for it, recommending particularly the defence of Bombay, as his first object.

The Poonah Durbar had answered General Goddard's letter to the Paishwa, expressing themselves in terms of high friendship towards the English, and promised to send a confidential person to him; they had even expressed their satisfaction at the manner in which care had been taken that their subjects in the Guzerat should receive no damage from Ragobah's troops, and recommended the Paishwa's collectors to the continuation of his protection. The Vaqueel might have arrived towards the end of July, but besides the slowness natural to the political transactions

tions of that Durbar, by which alone if acquiesced in, the time for action must have elapsed, the general had reason to think that the person to be sent was more to act the part of a spy than of a negotiator; he had undoubted intelligence that Nanah was making all possible preparation for war, and soliciting every power in the neighbourhood to join in it against the English; that he had particularly applied to the Nizam, and received answers on that subject; that the French agent at Poonah was also very busy at this time, and that many dispatches had been sent to and received from France. The General therefore looked upon war as more likely than peace, and cautioned himself against every event. What he foresaw happened, the negotiation was protracted: he had intimated to them that a personal interview between him and the ministers might tend to a speedy settlement, but this was not taken up.

The Vaqueel did not arrive in the general's camp till the middle of August; on the 16th they had a conference; a person was sent with him, who seemed to have the conduct of business, though the first personated

ambassador. They at first recurred to the state of affairs between the nations, before the circumstances of Ragobah obliged him to apply to the Bombay Council for assistance, but the General fixed them to the treaty of Porounder, which was to be the basis of any agreement; the others as strongly insisted on the convention of Wor-gaum, and in consequence, the surrender of Salfet. The General on his part mentioned the want of power in Messrs. Carnac and Egerton, and the knowledge the Mahratta chiefs had of it, and told them, that unless the requisitions made by the Supreme Council, (which were, the abandoning all claims under that convention, and excluding the French) were agreed to as preliminaries, nothing could be entered on. No mention was made on either side of any provision to be made for Ragobah; much time was taken up in explications of the different matters which had occasioned the altercations and mutual complaints of the Bombay Council and the Mahratta ministers against each other before the last revolutions at Poonah, but in the end each reverted to his point. Nothing therefore could be settled without a further reference

ference to Poonah. One of the Mahratta agents returned there for that purpose.

Before the departure of the Vaqueel for Poonah, General Goddard declared to him, that the Supreme Council would never consent to the restraint of the person of Ragobah, that he must be at liberty to reside wherever he should chuse, with a decent allowance from the Mahratta state, and that on these conditions he should not be suffered in any manner to disturb it. The return of the Vaqueel, which he had promised should be in twenty days, was continually delayed, notwithstanding repeated assurances that he was immediately to leave Poonah; the month of October was thus two-thirds spent in vain expectation; at last the general told the remaining Vaqueel that the delay used, and evasive answers given hitherto, evinced hostile intentions in the Poonah Durbar; that notwithstanding those evident proofs, the English wished to shew their sincere inclination for peace, and to grant every indulgence consistent with their honour and safety; that therefore he would wait fifteen days more, and if at the expiration of that period the absent Vaqueel did not return, or

send

send a satisfactory answer to the proposals transmitted by him, he should look upon it as a declaration of war, and act accordingly : he might the more boldly do this, as his army was in excellent order, complete in military stores, the artillery thoroughly repaired, and provided with every requisite for taking the field and immediately entering upon service ; at the same time he had reason to be assured that Sindia and Nanah had set a negotiation on foot with the Nizam, Hyder, and even Moodagec, to make a general attack upon the English at their several settlements. The last was not likely to stir, but the others were but too well inclined to act against them.

On the 28th of October the Vaqueel returned with letters from the Paishwa and minister, referring to him for a full declaration of their sentiments, which he in plain terms declared to be, that no peace should be concluded unless, in the first place, Ragobah's person was delivered up, and Salset restored to the Mahratta government. This broke off all further negotiation. As the General had found Sindia's inclinations so strong against
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the English, he had not as yet made him any private overture, lest it should be attributed to a consciousness of inferiority, and be received with contempt; the course of operations might afford an occasion which would render it expedient, for as his connexion with the minister was founded on considerations of interest and ambition, a door would open for treating whenever he thought it his political advantage: this was not likely, whilst his situation at Poonah remained as it then was; his power, by means of his army, and his influence over Holcar was so great, that it was impossible for Nanah to shake off the shackles in which he held him; he had been prevailed on to return to Poonah, where his presence was bought by further grants of territory or large sums of money: no advantage could be offered him adequate to those he reaped from that importance; dilatory and uncertain proceedings were therefore his object. Such a state was as pernicious to the English as it was profitable to him: to them every thing concurred to make decision necessary. The army under General Goddard was maintained at a vast expence, which the territory in the west of India was by no means equal

equal to defray ; in truth far otherwise : the exertions made by the Bombay Council had drained their wealth, and they were continually requiring supplies from Bengal : great as the resource there was, it could not suffice for every demand, and much had been sent to Madras as well as Bombay : an actual existing war gave the English a right to seize the enemy's territory, and draw the maintenance of their army from their revenues, of which they were then the protectors. To the expence of the army was added that occasioned by the asylum given to Ragobah ; the direction in several letters had enjoined it, the Supreme Council approved it, humanity required it, and policy made it expedient. General Goddard was bound to prevent injuries to the inhabitants, not only by prudence, but his orders, and the promise he had made to the Poonah Durbar, which continued in force till war should actually exist. That Ragobah might be enabled to restrain his troops by paying them, the general had allowed him 50,000 rupees a month ; this expence was thought too heavy, and the continuance of it forbidden by the Supreme Council ; thus unprovided he must
 prey

prey at large upon the country, unless put in possession of some district whose revenues might maintain him, and such a possession might be extended to enable him to discharge some part of the debt he owed the Company.

The rich and fertile province of Guzerat was the most obvious country for such a provision, as well as for a resource, whence to draw subsistence for the army; it lay open and totally incapable of resistance, no French force was yet in that part of India, or could arrive before the conquest was effected; the approaching monsoon prevented opposition from the Mahrattas, and would give an invader time to establish himself in that possession, the greatest part of the country was the property of the Paishwa family; hence the benefit arising from that possession was double, depriving the enemy of as much as it afforded the possessor; the Nawal of Cambay and other Rajahs, inveterate enemies of the Mahratta state, were ready to assist, if effectually protected; thus the country would be easily subdued, and from its being intersected by rivers and open to the sea, as easily defended against the incursions of a predatory enemy :

enemy : by a proper use of those advantages, Futty Sing might be necessitated to join the English, and thereby free himself from dependence, and share the spoil of his former lords ; from him succours of money and troops, principally horse, might be obtained.

Another very important consideration was the retrieving the honour of the English arms lost in the misfortune at Worgaum : this was not barely a feather ; from that event the Indian powers had shaken off the awe with which the valour and former prowess of that nation had impressed their mind. This was so not only at Poonah, where the Durbar had used themselves to think of the English with contempt, and conclude that they were fallen into a state of weakness which obliged them to sue for peace, and yield to give up every thing insisted on, but the neighbouring princes whom they solicited, influenced in like manner, would probably be the more easily induced to accede to their invitation ; a fortunate blow, the splendor of a victory must turn the scale ; fear, that principle prevalent through the east, would inspire a dread of resentment if the
English

English proved successful, and therefore make them await the event of the war. The Durbar of Poonah whose great reliance was on an attack to be made by the French force so often promised, finding none was at hand, might resume their schemes of recovering the territory their dissensions made them lose, and desire a peace with the English that they might be at liberty to revive their claims among their neighbours.

Full of these considerations, the general proceeded to Bombay to concert with the Select Committee the plan of operations.

Thus ended the year 1779, in the west of India; it had produced some great events, and been loaded with many disappointments; the next is big with many more, whether decisive or no is in the breast of Providence.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the conclusion of the foregoing sheets, private advices have been received of the following facts. The Bombay Council approved, though they would not be responsible for the measures General Goddard proposed, and furnished him all the assistance that was consistent with their safety; they wrote to Colonel Braithwaite to hasten his coming with the troops from Mahé, but as Hyder had stirred up the princes near Telli-cherry to acts of hostility, the colonel could not immediately spare his whole force; he sent one company of European infantry, one of artillery, and one battallion of sepoy, but they did not arrive so soon as was expected: from Bombay were sent four companies of European infantry, and two battallions of sepoy, commanded by Colonel Hartley. Thus reinforced, General Goddard, on the 1st of January 1780, marched from his camp near Surat, and crossing the Tappi, took possession of all the territory round Surat and Broach, and proceeded into the Guzerat:

Guzerat : part of this country belongs to the Gwicawar family and is at present possessed by Futty Sing, and the remainder immediately to the Poonah government or Paishwa family : this was a proper foundation for a treaty with Futty Sing, whose situation in regard to the governing party at Poonah hath been already mentioned. On the 19th, the army encamped before the fort of Dub-boy, subject to Poonah ; the garrison made at first a shew of resistance, firing some shot on the approach ; that night a battery was erected which was intended to begin next day ; some attempts were made to disturb the work, but upon its being finished, the garrison abandoned the place, in which were found only a few unarmed inhabitants. The revenues of this district amount to two lacks of rupees a year ; it was left in charge of a collector and some troops from Broach, and the march was continued towards Broderah, the residence of Futty Sing, which was held by a strong garrison ; General Goddard proposed a treaty to him ; some days he remained in suspense, but his deliberation ended in concluding an alliance ; the conditions of which were, that the Paishwa should be totally excluded from any possession in Gu-

zerat, and the English and Futtý Sing engaged mutually to support each other in the possessions they should share between them. Futtý Sing was to furnish 3000 horse to General Goddard, and to have Ahmedavad in lieu of his share of the Guzerat south of the Tappý, and he was to be effectually supported in withholding his tribute of twenty-seven lacks till the conclusion of peace, when his interests were to be taken care of. This settled, he accompanied the English army with his horse to Ahmedavad, the capital of Guzerat ; this is a large town well fortified. On the 10th of February they encamped before it ; it was defended by a great number of troops, part of which were 6000 Arabs, and 2000 cavalry ; the batteries were ready the 12th at noon, by the 14th at night several breaches were practicable, and at day-break on the 15th the Europeans and sepoy grenadiers, led by the gallant Colonel Hartley, took it by storm after a vigorous resistance from the brave Arabs, great number of whom fell ; the loss of the English in killed and wounded amounted but to one hundred and twenty, but that of the enemy to upwards of 1000. The town according to agreement was given up to Futtý Sing, and a small

small detachment of his and the English troops left for the guard of it.

The jealousies at Poonah had not discontinued, Nanah had even projected to seize the persons of Holcar and Sindia, but without effect; but they were reunited by the common danger: upon the news of the march of the English army to Ahmedavad being received at Poonah, a considerable force proceeded under Sindia and Holcar to prevent that siege, or if begun to force them to raise it, but they learned the capture before they had got half way; that slackened their pace, yet they continued moving towards the English; when they reached the environs of Broderah, General Goddard marched to meet them, they retreated as he advanced; in three days he had got so near as to occupy in a few hours the camp they had left in the morning; there Sindia and Holcar sent him back the hostages, writing to him, that though authorised by the law of nations to put them to death, they would not be guilty of such inhumanity; asking at the same time whether he meant peace or war? the answer was, that the war was only against Nanah and the enemies of the English, to which a

reply was given by their Vaqueel, that Sindia was an enemy to Nanah and well inclined to the English ; thus a kind of negotiation was seemingly offered, whilst evidently their scheme was to harraßs and distress the English army by hovering round them, and not leaving it in their power to come to an engagement to keep them in continual alarm, and cut off their provisions and forage ; in this manner to draw out the campaign till the rains should put an end to it, when they would retire and go to the culture of their farms.

General Goddard saw the consequences of this manœuvre, and studied to end it by a decisive stroke : on the 3d of April, about two in the morning, he marched silently from his camp with a chosen detachment, consisting of four battalions of sepoy grenadiers, four companies of European infantry, four twelve-pounders, and eight six-pounders, and after marching about seven miles, at the dawn of day entered their camp ; he was so provident in every precaution that his march was totally undiscovered, and regularity and order so well preserved that unperceived he reached the center of their camp, after passing through
a body

a body of six thousand men ; he then began his attack ; great was the confusion among the enemy, yet they got some troops together with which they endeavoured to oppose him, but in vain ; they fled from their camp into a neighbouring ground, where, without loss of time, he charged them ; after a short resistance that whole army, consisting of upwards of 30,000 men, dispersed totally, leaving him not only master of the field, but of that whole country. The loss on the English side was very inconsiderable, being not more than twenty killed and wounded.

F I N I S.

